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CONTENTS OF VOLUME XXXVIII

610189

An Excursion into the Early History of the Chicago and Alton Railroad
D. W. Yungmeyer 7

A Search for Copper on the Illinois River: The Journal of Legardeur Delisle, 1722
Edited by Stanley Faye 38

Wayland Female Institute (Alton, 1853–1856)
Grace Partridge Smith 58

Illinois in 1944
Mildred Eversole 71

Frontier Landlords and Pioneer Tenants
Paul Wallace Gates 143

A Frenchman in America: Two Chapters from Ampère's Promenade en Amèrique, 1851
Translated by Mildred H. Crew 207

The Reverend John Brich: His Life and Tragic Death
Charles G. Davis 227

The Western Trip of Philip Hone
Edited by Paul M. Angle 277

The Southern Collegiate Institute (1891–1916)
E. L. Dukes 295

The Wesley Foundation in Urbana: The Origin of an Idea
W. G. Piersel 319

From Log Cabin to Sod House
Edward Everett Dale 383

Alson J. Streeter—An Agrarian Liberal
Alfred W. Newcombe 414

Illinois, Host to Well-known Nineteenth Century Authors
Robert R. Hubach 446

The Illinois Bookshelf
Thomas Ford, *A History of Illinois from Its Commencement as a State in 1818 to 1847* (Chicago, 1854) 99

George Flower, *History of the English Settlement in Edwards County, Illinois* (Chicago, 1882) 238

Christiana Holmes Tillson, *A Woman's Story of Pioneer Illinois* (Chicago, 1919) 345

John Dean Caton, *Early Bench and Bar of Illinois* (Chicago, 1893) 468

Historical Notes
"Literary Values in the 1850's" 105

Paul M. Angle, "John Hay's Springfield" 108

"A Criticism, Two Replies, and a Rejoinder" 109

"Grant Takes Command at Cairo" 242

Ernest E. East, "Proceeds from Ford's *History of Illinois*" 244

Daisy L. Whiteside, "Another Illinois Song" 245

Guy Study, "Oliver Parks Restores the Jarrot Mansion at Cahokia" 351

Jesse W. Harris, "Pioneer Vocabulary Remains in Southern Illinois" 476

The Illinois Scrapbook 119, 247, 354, 481

News and Comment 126, 254, 363, 492

Contributors 135, 269, 375, 508

TABLE OF CONTENTS

An Excursion into the Early History of the Chicago and Alton Railroad
D. W. Yungmeyer 7

A Search for Copper on the Illinois River: The Journal of Legardeur Delisle, 1722
Edited by Stanley Faye 38

Wayland Female Institute (Alton, 1853-1856)
Grace Partridge Smith 58

Illinois in 1944
Mildred Eversole 71

The Illinois Bookshelf
Ford's *History of Illinois*, by Paul M. Angle 99

Historical Notes

"Literary Values in the 1850's" 105

Paul M. Angle, "John Hay's Springfield" 108

History of Illinois Congregational and Christian Churches: Criticism and Replies 109

The Illinois Scrapbook 119

News and Comment 126

Contributors 135

ILLUSTRATIONS

The Alton Railroad Today 13

A Central Pacific Railroad Engine with a Chicago and Alton Railroad Tender, about 1870; an Alton Engine about the Year 1880 18

The Chicago Union Station, Used by the Alton 24

The Glasgow Steel Bridge of the Chicago and Alton Railroad Taken in 1879 while under Construction 30

Wayland Female Institute As It Appeared in 1853 60

AN EXCURSION INTO THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE CHICAGO AND ALTON RAILROAD

BY D. W. YUNGMEYER

TO the student of early railroad history the state of Illinois offers unequaled opportunities. The builders of the state's first railroads had but little in the way of experience to guide them, for railroads in the United States as a whole were scarcely ten years old.[1] It is true that as early as 1833 the General Assembly of the state had considered the subject of railroads, and in the years 1835-1836 had chartered at least twenty roads.[2] Nothing ever came of these papers, and not until the spring of 1837 was actual construction begun on the Northern Cross Railroad, the first actually to operate under steam power in the state.[3] The state was very young then, and as the student sees the railroads develop, one by one, he must surely become aware of the fact that as the railroads went, so went the state.

The economic development of the state was in its infancy; political boundaries were still open to revision; educational facilities were sketchy, to say the least; and of social life there was practically none. In all these the railroad was the great factor in the formation of their patterns. As it moved across the rolling lands of central Illinois the farmers came out of the groves, where the greater number of them had been resident since their arrival in the state, and opened

[1] Slason Thompson, *A Short History of American Railways, Covering Ten Decades* (New York, 1925), 34.

[2] J. C. Power, *History of Springfield, Illinois* (Springfield, 1871), 28-29.

[3] W. K. Ackerman, *Early Illinois Railroads* (*Fergus' Historical Series*, XXIII, Chicago, 1884), 23-24.

farms on the prairies; emigration, made possible by the new transportation, caused the relocation of more than one seat of justice, and not a few villages moved to new sites as, one after another, the lines of rails crept forward on their appointed routes. With the increase of population came the first of the schoolmasters, and for them were erected many structures, from the smallest one-room township school to the great university, some of which were endowed by the men who built the railroads. And the citizen could now get about with greater freedom, discuss his problems in the society of his fellow men, and absorb the benefit of the interchange of new ideas.

When the General Assembly of the state of Illinois went on its memorable spending-spree of February 27, 1837, and for several years thereafter, almost any person or persons could go before that body and secure a charter for a railroad, and usually obtain the authority to build and operate it. The mortality rate among these infant roads was very high, and the early demise of any of them could usually be traced to the lack of prenatal care on the part of the prospective parents. On the other hand, those infants more fortunate in their choice of parents usually lived and became a credit to them, but if it came to pass that the child could no longer be supported it was often possible to arrange its adoption by others and thus insure its preservation.

These better informed parents, having made all due preparations for the birth of the infant railroad, rejoiced upon the delivery of the child and proclaimed its great future. But if it is one thing to possess a charter, with authority to build and operate a railroad, having in hand a right-of-way, some rails and ties, a wheezy little locomotive, and a few flimsy cars, it is quite another to provide for its upkeep and allocate equitably the profits accruing from its operation. Toil and trouble filled the days of the proud parents, and sleepless nights, one upon the other, were spent in planning and

scheming to still the clamor of their greedy infants whose appetites seemed insatiable.

In appearance these youngsters were very much alike: a narrow strip of land, sketchily graded, along which stretched two parallel lines of light iron rail—sometimes of the older strap variety, sometimes of the new-fangled "T" design—and if the latter, then very likely the rails were not joined by splice bars, an extra spike or two serving to hold the ends in place. Earth, taken from shallow drainage ditches along the track, was shoveled upon the ties between the rails to serve as ballast. The rains came and washed away the ballast, the frosts of winter had their way with the subgrade, the unpainted wooden trestles rotted and sagged beneath the tiny trains, livestock roamed the unfenced right-of-way, and sometimes a rail or two disappeared during the long nights when all good children are at home and in bed.

Of such were the predecessor roads of the Chicago and Alton Railroad of 1861. The line of corporate succession of the Alton comprises nineteen different corporations, of which four underwent a change of name. Two of them were known as the "Chicago and Alton Railroad Company;" the first incorporated by a special act of the legislature of Illinois on February 18, 1861, and the second incorporated under the general laws of the state through articles of consolidation, March 8, 1906, the filing of which took place on March 14 of the same year. These two corporations resembled each other but little, the conceptions of the psychology of railroading adopted by them having very few points in common, although the fundamental was the same: the line of railroad between Chicago, St. Louis, and Kansas City.[4]

The limitations of time make it necessary that this excursion cease operating with the passing of the Chicago and Alton Railroad of 1861, when the railroad ceased to be an

[4] *Decisions of the Interstate Commerce Commission of the United States May 1932—March 1933* (*Interstate Commerce Commission Reports, Valuation Reports*, Vol. 40, Washington, 1933), 112.

individual, self-sufficient mechanism, and became a mere cog in a vastly greater machine. For the sake of brevity we shall use the familiar "Alton" to designate the corporation of 1861.

The history of the Alton begins on February 27, 1847, when by special act of the General Assembly of Illinois the Alton and Sangamon Railroad Company was incorporated. Prior to this date a number of efforts to connect Springfield and Alton by railroad, either by private charter or under the internal improvement laws, had come to nothing and were abandoned. In the four years following the granting of the charter three amendments were found necessary to insure the completion of the road, the second of which provided for its extension to Bloomington. On June 19, 1852, by an act of the General Assembly, the name of the corporation was changed to the Chicago and Mississippi Railroad Company, and the work, under the direction of Benjamin Godfrey, of Alton, was prosecuted so vigorously that on September 9, 1852, the first locomotive made the trip from Alton to Springfield. A great excursion was organized, the party leaving St. Louis at six o'clock on the morning of October 6, 1852, aboard the steamboat *Cornelia*, arriving in Springfield at two o'clock in the afternoon. There, in a building erected for a machine shop, a sumptuous dinner awaited them, and we may well imagine that they did it justice, after which there were speeches by Godfrey and others. The train, with its four hundred passengers, left Springfield soon thereafter and by nine o'clock that evening the excursionists had returned to their homes. This gesture opened a way of direct communication and trade for Springfield with St. Louis and the South.[5]

In February, 1853, an act of the legislature permitted the increase of the capital stock of the company, another amended the charter, and on October 18 of the same year,

[5] Power, *History of Springfield*, 34-35.

the road was completed to Normal, there forming a junction with the Illinois Central. Now a traveler could begin his journey at Alton, change to the cars of the Illinois Central at Normal, travel by that road as far as LaSalle, thence by way of the Chicago and Rock Island to Chicago, where, taking passage on the chain of roads eastward, he could complete an all-rail journey to the Atlantic seaboard.[6] In an advertisement in a Bloomington paper at that time the company offered to take passengers to New York in "only sixty hours."[7]

The Alton and Sangamon originally was chartered to run by way of Waverly in Morgan County, and New Berlin, in Sangamon County, but John T. Stuart, a member of the state Senate, feeling that the best interests of the company and the general public could be better served, introduced an amendment, which became a law January 29, 1851, by which the company was authorized to build direct from Carlinville to Springfield.[8]

The first bill to authorize the construction of a railroad from Springfield to Chicago was introduced by Stuart in the session of 1848-1849. It passed the Senate and was sent to the House. The following morning, Edward O. Smith, representing Macon County in the Senate, objected to the passage of the bill, giving as reasons that it was passed in his absence, and that it was interfering with the building of the Great Western and the Illinois Central. He moved its recall, and succeeded in having the bill brought back to the Senate and laid upon the table. In 1850-1851 it was thought best to pass the measure in sections, due to the opposition which it had met in the previous session. Therefore, John T. Stuart introduced a bill to extend the Alton and Sangamon Railroad, authorizing construction of the road from Springfield to

[6] Power, *History of Springfield*, 35.

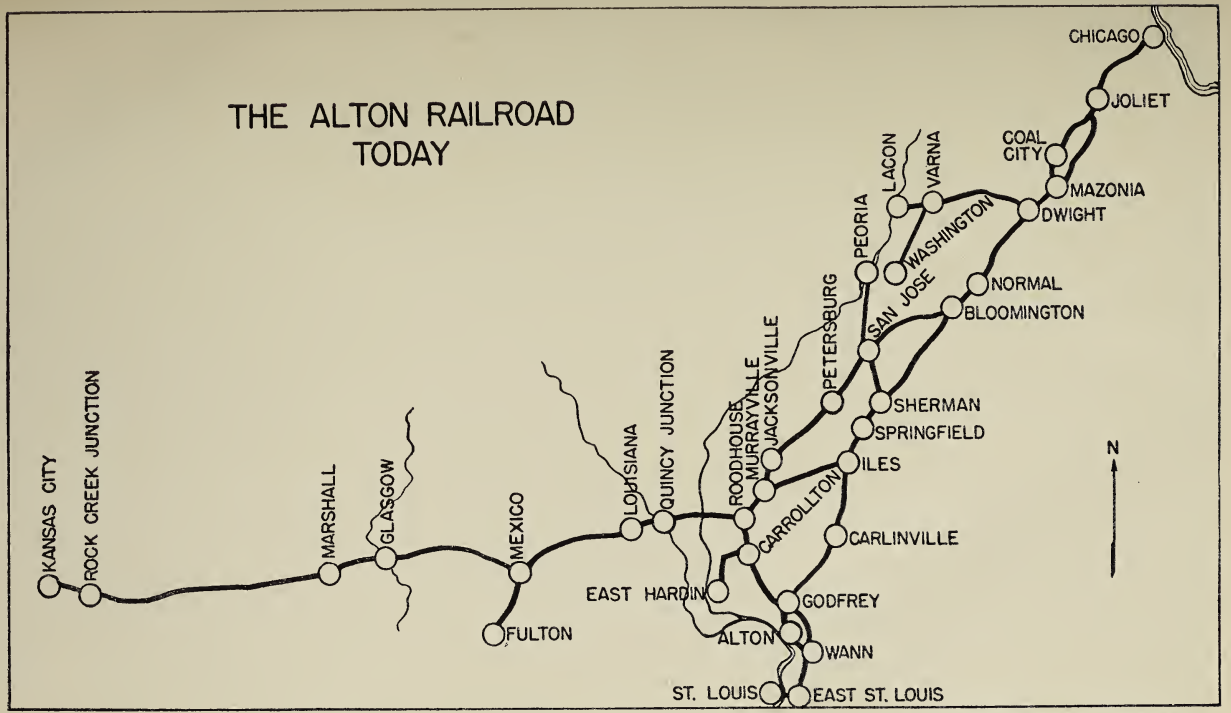
[7] Wm. LeBaron, Jr., & Co., pub., *History of McLean County, Illinois* (Chicago, 1879), 364-65.

[8] Interstate Publishing Co., pub., *History of Sangamon County, Illinois* (Chicago, 1881), 146.

Bloomington, and under this act that part of the road was built. In 1852, Gen. Asahel Gridley, representing McLean County in the Senate, introduced a bill to extend the road from Bloomington to Joliet. This became a law on June 19, 1852, and under it the work went forward.[9]

When the road was built northward from Springfield the stations were spaced about ten miles apart. Col. R. B. Latham had been engaged to procure the right-of-way for the Chicago and Mississippi through Logan County, and had the promise of Oliver H. Lee, the chief engineer, of the location of a station. Since a station at Elkhart had already been decided upon, the next stopping point would be near Postville.[10] A matter of importance intervened to decide this location. Postville, the first county seat of Logan County, was named for Russell Post, a speculator in western townsites. He entered the land in 1836 and laid out a village on the main road from St. Louis to Chicago, which became a regular stopping place for stages. The settlement was selected as the seat of justice because of its location near the center of the county. Land was donated by the village, and a courthouse, two stories high, costing probably not more than two hundred dollars, was erected.[11] At this time residents of certain sections of Logan, McLean, and DeWitt counties desired to form a new county with the seat of justice at Waynesville, while other citizens of Logan, Sangamon, and Macon counties looked forward to the selection of Mount Pulaski for the transaction of legal affairs. The contest was spirited, but Postville lost and Mount Pulaski won. But not for long, as the passage of the new state constitution set forth regulations to which neither of the two new political districts could conform. The people of Logan County then saw that a more central location, and one upon a railroad, was needed

[9] Interstate Publishing Co., pub., *History of Sangamon County*, 146.
[10] Donnelley, Loyd & Co., pub., *History of Logan County, Illinois: Its Past and Present* (Chicago, 1878), 267.
[11] *Ibid.*, 262-63.



Drawn by Lyman B. Herrin

for the county seat. Postville petitioned for it again, but the fact that it was about a mile from the right-of-way of the new railroad was not in its favor.[12]

The original site of the city of Lincoln was then owned by Isaac Loose, who lived in Greencastle, Pennsylvania. He, with his brother, had entered the land sometime in 1836 or 1837. Loose being agreeable to the sale of the land, Colonel Latham left for Pennsylvania at once to procure the deed, not wishing to await its arrival by mail. He purchased the land in behalf of himself, John D. Gillett, and Virgil Hickox, and telegraphed at once to the latter to have Colby Knapp, in the legislature, insert in the act to incorporate the town of Lincoln the quarter-section purchased as the future county seat, instead of Postville. This was done and the act passed, being approved February 14, 1853.[13] Postville lost again, and, gradually losing interest in itself, the little town in time became the fourth ward of the city of Lincoln.[14]

Any chapter written around the activities of the early business and professional men of Bloomington must necessarily carry the title, "They Knew What They Wanted." Working closely together they used their power and influence to secure for the city such improvements as they thought would be of benefit to its future. Bloomington was an early center of railroad activities in Illinois, and, as road after road was projected, these men carefully scrutinized the possible worth of each to the township and the county seat, and if the tests they made revealed some merit in the plan they immediately set out to see what could be done to secure the new road for the town. It is regrettable that on this excursion we can only nod to three of them: Judge David Davis, Gen. Asahel Gridley, and Jesse W. Fell.[15]

Among the large number of citizens who worked hand

[12] Donnelley, Loyd & Co., pub., *History of Logan County*, 266-67.
[13] *Ibid.*, 267.
[14] *Ibid.*, 271.
[15] LeBaron & Co., pub., *History of McLean County*, 363.

in hand for the development and growth of the city, these three men stand out pre-eminently. They were the spearhead of the attack to secure for Bloomington its first two railroads: the Illinois Central and the Chicago and Mississippi. When the location of the Springfield and Bloomington Railroad—the extension of the Chicago and Mississippi—was in progress these men began to think along lines of greater development for their city. The Illinois Central depot was located on the eastern side of the town and it occurred to Jesse Fell, and others, that if the new road were located on or outside the western edge, it would cause the town to spread out, which would likely be of benefit in the end. This idea was slow of adoption, but these determined men put forth their full efforts and succeeded in carrying out the plan.[16]

Immediately thereafter the question of the location of the machine shops of the new road was foremost in the thoughts of the city planners. They secured donations of land and other assistance, offering these to the railroad company as an inducement to locate their shops in Bloomington. The road accepted this aid, establishing the shops on a triangular piece of land bounded on the east by the tracks, on the north by the township line, and on the west by the section line. The site of the first passenger depot of this railroad was also arranged for by these men, and this land, with that of the shops, totaling seven acres, was deeded to the company by W. H. Allin, with full warranty deeds, for the sum of $3.00.[17] A supply of water for the shops was a factor in influencing the final decision of the company to place its shops in Bloomington. In the early years there was water enough from ordinary sources, but when, in 1869, the need for larger quantities became apparent, it was remembered that in 1853 a coal shaft was sunk northwest of the city. That operation had to suspend by reason of encountering a very powerful vein of

[16] LeBaron & Co., pub., *History of McLean County*, 365.
[17] *Ibid.*, 389-90.

water. The railroad company sank a shaft near by and struck the same vein; this source supplied water for all the needs of the shops.[18] In 1858 nearly two hundred men were in employment at the shops and the hopes of the promoters of the scheme bade fair to be realized. Buildings were added from time to time until, in 1878, as many as nine hundred men were to be seen at work on the business of the company carried on there.[19]

On the night of November 1, 1867, the first shops were swept by a great fire of such destructive power that the company was faced with the question of permanent construction on a location suitable for the future progress of the road.[20] Once more the business and professional men of Bloomington rallied, this time to retain the railroad shops for the city. In the proposals offered the company was the matter of $55,000, voted in bonds by the city, to cover the expense to the road of the purchase of additional land to accommodate the projected greatly enlarged shops. In addition the city wished to vacate several streets and alleys which were in the land. The legalizing act was vetoed by Governor Palmer, but a lobby of some forty men went to Springfield, there presenting their case so well that the bill was passed over the veto.[21]

The Joliet and Bloomington Extension—as this part of the Chicago and Mississippi was called—was pushed rapidly from both towns toward a common point and completed during the year following the arrival of the latter road in Bloomington.[22] On the Fourth of July of that year—1854—the extension was able to operate an excursion train from both towns, and on July 31 the first train made the trip from Bloomington to Joliet. Arrangements were made with the Chicago and Rock Island Railroad to run the passenger

[18] LeBaron & Co., pub., *History of McLean County*, 388.
[19] *Ibid.*, 390.
[20] *Fifth Annual Report of the President and Directors of the Chicago and Alton Railroad Company, for the Year Ending December 31, 1867* (Chicago, 1868).
[21] LeBaron & Co., pub., *History of McLean County*, 339.
[22] LeBaron & Co., pub., *The History of Will County, Illinois* (Chicago, 1878), 338.

trains directly from Joliet into Chicago over its road.[23] In Chicago the depot of the Illinois Central was used as the terminal until July 12, 1856, when the passenger traffic was moved to the depot of the Michigan Southern and Rock Island companies, at Van Buren and Sherman streets.[24] The lease of the Joliet and Chicago Railroad enabled the passenger trains of the Alton to use terminal facilities jointly owned with the Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne and Chicago Railroad,[25] and freight, which up to then had been transferred to the canal at Joliet, was taken directly to Chicago via the new line.[26]

As our excursion moves northward from Bloomington a historian of sixty-five years ago gives us a picture of what the coming of the Chicago and Mississippi Railroad in 1854 meant to Livingston County:

> For nearly twenty years had the county seat been located; but with the lack of commercial advantages, the progress of this part of the State had been extremely slow. Not only in growth and population had there been little perceptible change, but the morals of the people in general were not what we find them in later years. True, there were well-meaning and honest people, but society was fashioned after the frontier style. Fights were common, drinking, horse-racing and gambling were usual pastimes, and the Sabbath was almost wholly disregarded. Commerce is said to be the great civilizer and educator, and by many it is deemed the Christianizer of communities as well as of nations. In this instance, it proved to be all of the above and more; it brought the people here, and improved their condition more than the most enthusiastic could have imagined. With the railroad, came the people, and with the people came schools and churches, and to these came teachers and books and ministers and Sunday schools. With the railroad, came improved methods of farming, better plows, better means of harvesting grain, better prices for grain. With the railroad, came lumber, which enabled those who would settle on the prairie to protect their grain from the stock which roamed at large, and to protect their cattle and horses and themselves from the inclemencies of the weather. This made it possible to utilize all of that vast extent

[23] Fayette B. Shaw, "The Economic Development of Joliet, Illinois, 1830-1870" (Ph.D. thesis, Harvard University, 1933).

[24] *Chicago Democratic Press*, July 15, 1865.

[25] *Second Annual Report of the President and Directors of the Chicago and Alton Railroad Company for the Year Ending December 31, 1864* (Chicago, 1865).

[26] Shaw, "Economic Development of Joliet."

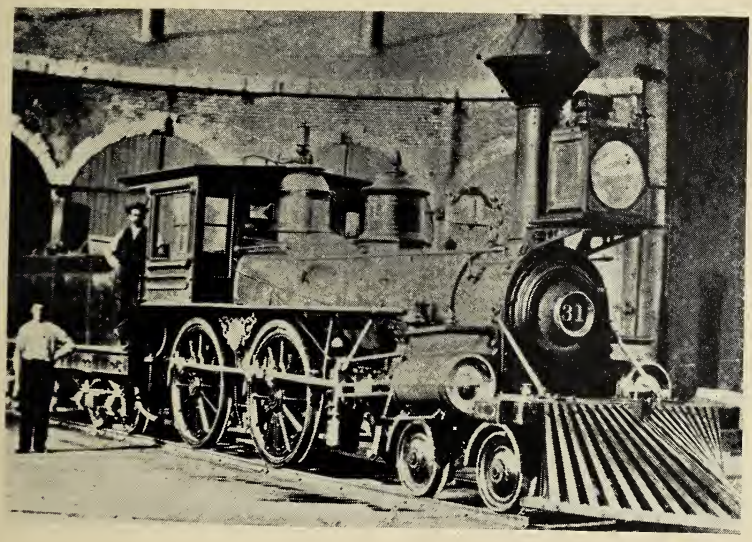
of country which, till then, was thought to be useless, except for a boundless pasture field. As a consequence, we find that, within the period of two years from the time that the road became a fixed fact, ten times as much land was entered in Livingston County as had been during the fifteen years before.[27]

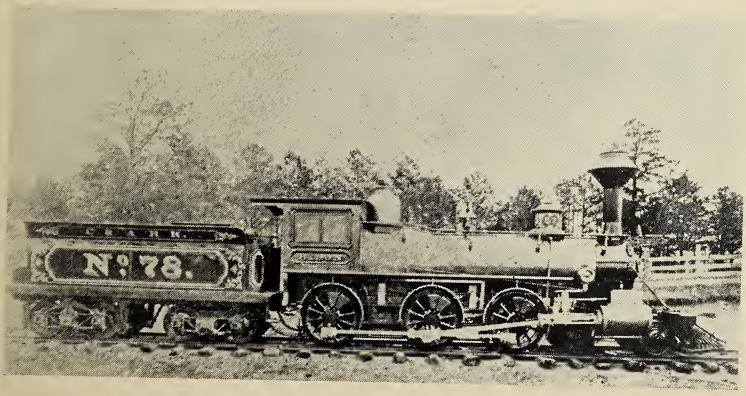
As this was true of Livingston County, so was it true of all the other counties through which the railroad passed.

When John T. Stuart and General Gridley secured authority from the General Assembly to extend the Chicago and Mississippi from Springfield to Joliet, it was in the interest of Henry Dwight. Dwight obtained a board of directors favorable to his plans and issued bonds in sufficient amount to complete the road to Joliet.[28] The name of the road was changed to the Chicago, Alton and St. Louis Railroad on February 14, 1855,[29] and on January 29, 1856, a fourth mortgage was made to William Fullerton, Henry J. Brown, and Edward Keating, trustees.[30] On September 1, 1855, the road was leased to Hamilton Spencer, who operated it until the lease was assigned to Governor Matteson, of Illinois, and Elisha Litchfield, of New York, who purchased the road at a foreclosure sale when it could not meet the obligations of the fourth mortgage.[31] These men changed the name of the road to the St. Louis, Alton and Chicago Railroad, a curious reversal of the previous name, and operated it until the effects of the panic of 1857 made it impossible to continue. In 1860 the property passed into receivership again.[32] This time its affairs were so ably managed by James Robb, a banker of New Orleans and a man of great financial and executive ability, that in his report to the trustees, on January 20, 1862, he was able to say:

Having received the Road in a condition of exhaustion, with its

[27] LeBaron & Co., pub., *History of Livingston County, Illinois* (Chicago, 1878), 305.
[28] W. R. Brink & Co., pub., *History of Madison County, Illinois* (Edwardsville, Ill., 1882), 49.
[29] *Interstate Commerce Commission Reports, Valuation Reports*, 40: 112.
[30] *Ibid.*, 242.
[31] *Ibid.*, 241-42.
[32] Brink & Co., pub., *History of Madison County*, 49-50.





Upper—A Central Pacific Railroad Engine with a Chicago and Alton Railroad Tender, About 1870

Lower—An Alton Engine About the Year 1880

employees unpaid and in a state of insubordination, and its general credit and standing destroyed, I am gratified in being now permitted to assure you that all its serious embarrassments have disappeared, and it only needs the application of a comprehensive policy on the part of the Bond holders in its reorganization to insure its continued prosperity and permanent stability as a property of value and importance.[33]

On January 10, 1862, holders of the first, second, third, and eight per cent mortgage bonds of the Chicago, Alton and St. Louis Railroad Company met in the city of New York and set up a "Bondholder's Agreement" by which they agreed to certain things looking toward the reorganization of the road. Subsequent "alterations and modifications" to this agreement were approved by Charles Nettleton, commissioner of the state of Illinois for the city of New York, on November 1, 1862, whereupon certificates, required by the act of the General Assembly of the state of Illinois, of February 18, 1861, incorporating the Chicago and Alton Railroad Company, were filed, and once more the road was upon its own.[34]

Now the stage is set for a climactic scene in the drama of the Alton, and in the wings stands the principal actor, ready to take his cue. Timothy Beach Blackstone was the descendant of a family which traced its record back to England in 1347. He was born at Branford, Connecticut, March 28, 1829. His formal education was shortened by reason of ill health, and upon the advice of his physicians he engaged in outdoor work. His first occupation was that of rodman, working on construction upon the New York and New Haven Railroad in 1848. Here he became intensely interested in the subject of engineering, and forthwith began the study of that science. His progress was so rapid that in 1849 he was made an assistant engineer on the Stockbridge and Pittsfield Railroad. In 1851, upon the invitation of Col. Roswell

[33] *Second Yearly Report of the Receiver of the St. Louis, Alton and Chicago Railroad to the Trustees, from January 1, 1861, to December 31, 1861* (Chicago, 1862).

[34] *Bondholders' Agreement of the Chicago, Alton & St. Louis Railroad Company (late Chicago and Mississippi)* (New York, 1862), *passim*.

B. Mason, under whose direction he had worked while on the New Haven, he came to Illinois as a member of the staff of civil engineers of the Illinois Central. His headquarters were at LaSalle, where he directed the work between Bloomington and Dixon. He remained there three years, serving one term as mayor of the town. Removing to Chicago in 1866 he became the chief engineer of the Joliet and Chicago Railroad, and, while directing the location and construction of the road, became financially interested in it. As a result of his work upon the construction of the line he was rapidly advanced by the directors from post to post, and in 1861 was made president of the road. In 1864, when the Alton leased the Joliet and Chicago, he was a member of the directory of the Alton, and three months later was elected to the presidency of that road, remaining continuously its chief executive until the road was sold in 1899. He served for twenty-five years without salary or reward, refusing all offers, and when the directors finally did vote to pay him one of $10,000 a year, he refused positively to accept it. He personally assumed and paid all requests for charitable and political purposes or public-spirited enterprises for which contributions from the Alton were solicited.[35]

Timothy Blackstone and the board of directors of the Alton were concerned primarily with the development of the road and were determined that it should make a profit for its stockholders. Blackstone had control of the stock and refused to allow it to become a speculative issue. His firm conviction was that he had been made custodian of the fortunes of the investors and he constantly reiterated in the annual reports of the road to its stockholders the phrases "your railroad," or "your company." When the road was extended from Mexico, Missouri, to Kansas City, Blackstone personally located the line. He had promised the stockholders that the line would be built and equipped for less

[35] *Chicago Tribune*, May 27, 1900.

than $3,000,000 and he felt that he could thus, in part, best fulfill his pledge.[36]

The annual reports of the road are extremely interesting, the free and full discussions of the problems of the road through the years examples of candor seldom encountered. The second annual report is one which must not be neglected, for it contains some outline of the course the management followed for many years to come.[37] The president's report sets forth the beginning of operations upon the Joliet and Chicago Railroad as of January 1, 1864. He relates, also, that the company contracted with the Alton and St. Louis Railroad Company on April 1, 1864, for the perpetual lease of the road of that company, complementing the latter item with an observation upon the importance of having the entire line between Chicago and St. Louis under complete control. Complete control was thereafter paramount in the minds of the president and members of the board, and in all later acquisitions of railroad this condition was insisted upon. Robert Hale, general superintendent, speaks bitterly of the condition of the road as he found it when he assumed his position, but is hopeful that improvements already made will be but a slight forecast of what is to come. He also sets forth another standard to which the corporation of 1861 adhered fully:

> The building of a railroad implies, that in order to yield a return on the investment, it must be supplied with sufficient rolling stock to accommodate the business, and a want of it, for any great length of time, is no valid excuse, but is rather evidence of want of capacity or energy on the part of its managers.

His comment on the lack of respectability of passenger accommodations in Chicago was not forgotten in the years to come. He also says:

> A perfect track is the basis of economy in all other departments, and of the greatest importance.

[36] *Chicago Tribune*, May 27, 1900.

[37] *Second Annual Report of the President and Directors of the Chicago and Alton Railroad Company*, 1864.

He then expresses satisfaction that no serious accident had occurred to any of the passenger trains of the road during the year, and that no passengers were injured. Later in his report, he compliments George M. Pullman, saying:

> This gentleman has spared no pains or expense in furnishing the best and most comfortable cars, and keeping them at all times in a neat and wholesome condition, which has added greatly to the popularity of our line as a passenger route. To this gentleman is due the credit of having constructed and placed upon the line some new sleeping cars, which in all their appointments, are the most perfect that have ever been built. It is hoped that the great pains taken, and the outlay he has made, will be highly remunerative.

John A. Jackman, superintendent of machinery, brought to the Alton from the Boston and Worcester Railroad, goes into great detail regarding the number and condition of the locomotives upon the road, and says, near the conclusion of his report:

> What I find them most lacking in, is what may properly be termed *backbone*, many of them presenting a better appearance to the eye than they can show when put to actual hard service. Or, in more potent language, they do not bear grief well.

Commenting on the fact that coal-burning engines would cost about two cents more per mile run than would the wood-burning engines, he says—

> But as we have an abundance of coal on the line, and a scarcity of wood now, with the expectation of constant diminution in the supply thereof, the only conclusion is, that all must come to coal as speedily as the case will admit.

Thus the managers began the reconstruction and rehabilitation of the line of railroad given into their hands. Year by year the reports are consistent in presenting to the stockholders summaries of greater capacities for the conduct of business, want of which the line never really lacked, improvements made, new locomotives and other rolling stock, new lines of railroad acquired by construction, purchase or lease, greater and greater net earnings, and of expenditures

kept within the capacity of the road to pay as it went. And when new issues of securities were necessary, such was the confidence of the shareholders in the management, that nearly always unanimous consent was given the proposals to increase the capital stock and funded debt of the company.

In 1851, Capt. Joseph Brown, in connection with S. and P. Wise and Gaty, McCune & Company, of St. Louis, built the steamboat *Altona*. When this boat commenced running in December of that year it was "the fastest boat on the western waters." In September, 1852, the Chicago and Mississippi bought the *Altona* and put her in charge of Capt. D. C. Adams.

This was done to give the road connection with St. Louis, and was in accord with the old internal improvement scheme of politicians of the day, who desired to concentrate everything within state boundaries as far as possible, and recognized Alton as the future great metropolis. They also bought the steamer "Cornelia," commanded by Captain Lamothe, the same year, for the passenger business, making two trips per day. The Cornelia sank in December, 1853, when in charge of Captain Jno. A. Bruner, and the Altona January 1st, 1854. The "St. Paul," commanded by Captain Lamothe then did all the business until March, when the "Winchester" was bought by Samuel J. Owens for the company, simultaneously with the purchase of the "Reindeer" by Captain Adams. These boats not proving to be profitable investments were sold. Jno. J. and Wm. H. Mitchell and Joseph Brown were the purchasers, they contracting to do the railroad business between the two points. There were some changes in ownership in 1857, when the company had three boats, the "Reindeer," "Baltimore," and "York State." On November 10, the Reindeer sank. There were several different boats chartered to do the work until the company built the famous "City of Alton," commanded by Captain George E. Hawley, which came out in the fall of 1860. She ran in the trade until the war broke out, when on account of the railroad company sending their passengers through by rail over the Terre Haute & Alton railroad to St. Louis, she was withdrawn from the Alton trade, and ran from St. Louis south, in command of Captain Wm. Barnes. In June, 1862, the company bought the steamer "B. M. Runyan," Captain Jas. S. Bellas. She ran in the trade until 1864, when she was sent south, and sunk July 21st, proving a total loss. The company then ran the "Tatum" in the Alton trade, until the Chicago & St. Louis company extended their road to St. Louis, taking all the railroad freight from the boat in the winter of 1864.[38]

[38] Brink & Co., pub., *History of Madison County*, 48.

Probably the most important line of road in the system of the Alton is that part extending from Chicago to Joliet. Known originally as the Joliet and Chicago Railroad Company, it was incorporated by special act of the legislature of the state of Illinois, February 15, 1855, with amendment thereto approved February 20, 1861.[39] Henry A. Gardner, the first chief engineer of the road, spent the months of April, May, June, and July, 1855, in making surveys, estimates, and so on for the road, and in March, 1856, drew up a general plan, with specifications of the work to be done. He also made a personal examination of the tentative location of the road in Chicago, on the south side of the river, which he confirmed.[40] This road, 36.25 miles in length, was acquired by construction with its own forces in 1857 and 1858, and on July 1, 1864, was leased in perpetuity to the Alton.[41]

It was at this juncture that Mr. John J. Mitchell, a warm friend and supporter of the Chicago and Alton interests, offered to build an independent road from Alton to East St. Louis, provided that the Chicago and Alton, on completion of the road, merge the franchises of the Alton and St. Louis charter, obtained in 1850, then owned and controlled by Mr. John J. Mitchell, with their own. The proposition was accepted, and during the winter of 1864 trains of the Chicago and Alton Railroad were running to East St. Louis, and terminating there on valuable depot grounds, obtained by Mr. Mitchell for the Chicago and Alton Railroad from the Wiggins' Ferry Company. . . . Four years later, viz: in 1868, the Chicago and Alton Railroad Company secured control of the line from Bloomington to Godfrey, a distance of 180 miles, built under the charter of the St. Louis, Jacksonville and Chicago Railroad Company. The lease of this valuable property covers a period of nine hundred and ninety years.[42]

The arrangement with the St. Louis, Alton and Terre Haute Railroad (referred to above as the Terre Haute and Alton Railroad) did not work out to the satisfaction of the Alton, nor did the location of the Alton and East St. Louis

[39] *Interstate Commerce Commission Reports, Valuation Reports*, 40: 157.

[40] Henry A. Gardner, "Statement of Account with the Joliet and Chicago Railroad Company, January, 1857" (MS in the Illinois State Historical Library, Springfield).

[41] *Interstate Commerce Commission Reports, Valuation Reports*, 40: 157.

[42] Brink & Co., *History of Madison County*, 50.

From the collection of D. W. Yungmeyer

THE CHICAGO UNION STATION, USED BY THE ALTON

Railroad (called in a previous paragraph the Alton and St. Louis charter) meet with the requirements of the road, so a charter for a railroad to be known as the Alton and St. Louis Railroad Company, was obtained by special act of the legislature of Illinois, February 4, 1859.[43] Surveys made in February and March, 1864, located the line, which was finished and placed in operation on January 1, 1865.[44] Operational difficulties through the city of Alton, consisting of a grade of ninety feet to the mile, and a very sharp curve, were a severe annoyance to the company. A decision to relocate the line at this point resulted in a survey made in the summer of 1865 which showed that by building five and one-half miles of new line around the city the grade could be reduced to thirty feet per mile, excessively sharp curvature avoided, and the distance lessened by seven-eighths of a mile.[45] On February 15, 1866, an additional issue of stock was sold, pro rata, to the stockholders of the Alton to provide means for the purchase of the stock of the Alton and St. Louis, and by the close of the year 1867, this latter road was entirely owned by the Alton.[46]

In 1870 the Alton entered into negotiations with the St. Louis, Jacksonville and Chicago Railroad Company, which road was under perpetual lease to the Alton but operated by its own organization, with a view of securing the right to use the charter of that road for the purpose of building a line of railroad from Roodhouse, Illinois, to Louisiana, Missouri. A contract was concluded between the two companies and work commenced upon the line at once. At the same time another contract was concluded with the Louisiana and Missouri River Railroad Company, in which that company agreed to complete its roadbed, including bridges and cross

[43] *Interstate Commerce Commission Reports, Valuation Reports*, 40: 112.

[44] *Second Annual Report of the President and Directors of the Chicago and Alton Railroad Company, 1864.*

[45] J. E. Weaver, "Historical Notes on the Alton Railroad" (MS in the collection of Joseph J. Finn, Chicago).

[46] *Fifth Annual Report of the President and Directors of the Chicago and Alton Railroad Company, for the Year Ending December 31, 1867* (Chicago, 1868).

ties, from Louisiana to Mexico, Missouri, by May 19, 1871. In this same contract the Louisiana and Missouri also agreed to complete in a like manner the line from Mexico to Jefferson City, and from Mexico to Glasgow, by May 19, 1872. It further agreed to prepare in the same way, on a location to be agreed upon, with the exception of a bridge over the Missouri River, another line from Glasgow to Kansas City, by May 19, 1873. The Alton, in turn, agreed to construct a line, mentioned above, to connect with the Louisiana and Missouri at Louisiana, and to take possession of the line from Louisiana to Mexico, and such other extensions as might subsequently be constructed, for one thousand years.[47]

Looking forward to developing business between Kansas City and Chicago before its own through line was completed, the Alton entered into still another contract, this one with the North Missouri Railroad, dated May 25, 1870, in which it was mutually agreed by the two companies to operate a through line for passengers and freight between Chicago and Kansas City, as soon as the connection was made at Mexico. This contract was to remain in force until the Louisiana and Missouri River Railroad was completed to Kansas City, either party having the right to terminate it, upon completion of the road, by giving three months' notice.[48]

The line from Roodhouse to a point on the east bank of the Mississippi River opposite Louisiana, Missouri, 37.6 miles, was completed in 1871, the construction including an iron bridge, 1,200 feet in length, with a draw span, at the Illinois River. The fifty-one miles of the Louisiana and Missouri from Louisiana to Mexico were also completed, and through traffic from Roodhouse to Mexico was inaugurated on October 30, 1871. The crossing of the Mississippi was accomplished by means of a ferryboat which had a capacity of

[47] *Eighth Annual Report of the President and Directors of the Chicago and Alton Railroad Company, for the Year Ending December 31, 1870* (Chicago, 1871).

[48] *Eighth Annual Report of the President and Directors of the Chicago and Alton Railroad Company, 1870.*

one entire passenger train, or twelve freight cars, at one time.[49] The construction west and southwest of Mexico lagged somewhat, due largely to unexpected financial difficulties which all efforts to counteract were unavailing, but the line from Mexico to Fulton was opened for traffic on March 6, 1872, and the line from Fulton to Jefferson City on July 16, 1872.[50]

During the months of January, February, and December, 1872, the ferry on the Mississippi was rendered inoperative by reason of the ice blockade. Foreseeing the necessity of an unobstructed flow of traffic across the river, the board of directors of the Alton reported to the stockholders that, if the ultimate value of the line was to be realized, it was absolutely necessary that a bridge be constructed over the river. It was unthinkable that the road could lightly toss away the traffic of three months of the year because of the lack of a bridge. Needless to say, the stockholders agreed.

Surveys were made, estimates carefully worked out, plans submitted to the Secretary of War, and, after much backing and filling to satisfy the demands of the "steamboat interests," approval was given the project. The resultant bridge, erected under the supervision of E. L. Corthell, chief engineer for the Mississippi River Bridge Company, was 2,042 feet in length, with an aggregate of 5,000 feet of approaches protected by riprap, together with dikes constructed for some distance upstream to satisfy the river interests. The bridge was constructed of wrought iron, resting upon piers and abutments of masonry of the most substantial character. Construction was begun on June 30, 1873, and the structure completed so as to permit the passage of trains on December 24, just short of six months later. The draw span was 446 feet in length, the longest in the world at that time,

[49] *Ninth Annual Report of the President and Directors of the Chicago and Alton Railroad Company, for the Year Ending December 31, 1871* (Chicago, 1872).

[50] *Tenth Annual Report of the President and Directors of the Chicago and Alton Railroad Company, for the Year Ending December 31, 1872* (Chicago, 1873).

providing, in conformity to the Act of Congress, two openings, each 200 feet in the clear for the passage of boats. A steam engine was installed to operate the draw, but so perfect was the construction, that, except when high winds prevailed, one man could, without the aid of steam, open and close it.[51] Three charters were necessary for the completion of this bridge: the first granted under the general laws of Illinois on April 4, 1873, the second under the general laws of Missouri, April 9, 1873—which two were combined under the general laws of Illinois and Missouri through articles of consolidation dated April 25, 1873, to form the final corporation. The filing of these articles was done on May 12 and 13, 1873, in Illinois and Missouri, respectively, the corporation being known thereafter as the Mississippi River Bridge Company (of May, 1873).[52]

The Louisiana and Missouri River Railroad Company having failed to comply with the terms of the contract of 1870 requiring it to complete the right-of-way between Mexico and Kansas City as of May 19, 1873,[53] a new railroad was chartered, known as the Kansas City, St. Louis and Chicago Railroad Company, to build the road between these two points, and thus provide a continuous line of railroad between Chicago and Kansas City. The charter for this road was obtained under the general laws of Missouri, April 18, 1877, the organization taking place on April 23, 1877.[54] John J. Mitchell, the great friend of the Alton, was elected president. The financing was quickly arranged and immediately thereafter the road was leased to the Alton in perpetuity, the Alton agreeing to equip the line with all necessary things—steel rails, bridges, depots, water stations, and so on.[55]

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[51] *Eleventh Annual Report of the President and Directors of the Chicago and Alton Railroad Company, for the Year Ending December 31, 1873* (Chicago, 1874).

[52] *Interstate Commerce Commission Reports, Valuation Reports*, 40: 112.

[53] *Twelfth Annual Report of the President and Directors of the Chicago and Alton Railroad Company, for the Year Ending December 31, 1874* (Chicago, 1875).

[54] *Interstate Commerce Commission Reports, Valuation Reports*, 40: 175.

[55] H. B. Voorhees, "The First Steel Bridge" (paper read at the Newcomen Dinner, Chicago, Nov. 9, 1944).

When the line reached Glasgow a great bridge was necessary to accomplish the crossing of the Missouri River, the experience at the Mississippi determining this construction. It so happened that at this time General William Sooy Smith, who had been engaged as chief engineer by Blackstone to design and supervise the building of this bridge, was chairman of a committee organized by the American Society of Civil Engineers in 1872 for the purpose of studying the properties of various metals which might be used in the construction of bridges. General Smith was in receipt of a letter from A. T. Hay, of Burlington, Iowa, who related that he had been studying the production and properties of steel and iron for some twelve years, and had been successful in making various alloys of these metals which exhibited remarkable qualities. The committee was interested and invited Hay to meet with them. He brought with him some specimens of his new steel, and while in session with the committee described what he called an electric furnace which he had devised to carry on his experiments. The committee spent the time from two o'clock one afternoon until bright daylight the next morning examining Hay's specimens. General Smith went to Burlington to view the process by which the steel was made, and after further investigation recommended to Blackstone that the proposed bridge be built of Hay's new steel, to which Blackstone agreed.

The announcement of this decision created consternation among the iron bridge builders, bringing forth all sorts of dire prophecies.[56] But the die had been cast, the steel was made and fabricated, and construction was begun. An accident occurred during construction which gave everyone concerned something to think about, in relation to the future of steel as a bridge material. Just six hours before one of the main spans would have been self-supported, loose ice in the

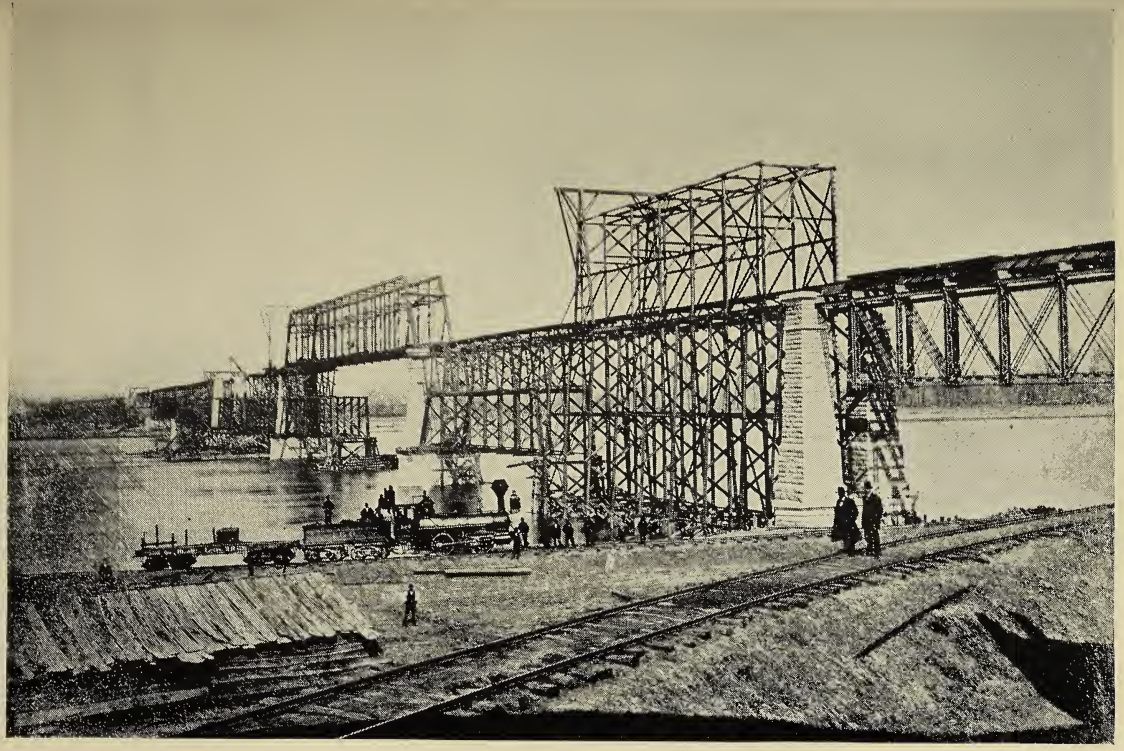
[56] H. P. Boardman, "The Substructure of Glasgow Bridge over the Missouri River" (paper and discussion), *Journal of the Western Society of Engineers*, April, 1901.

river piled up against the falsework beneath it, causing the span to fall into the water, a distance of a little more than seventy feet as measured from the bottom chord. Of the 160 tons of metal which fell, 50 tons were undamaged, 60 tons had to be completely renewed, and the remainder required repairs of varying degree.[57] The bridge company which had the contract to fabricate and erect the five main spans of the bridge failed, because of this accident, to complete its contract. The plant, and equipment at Glasgow, was leased to the Alton and the work, begun in May, 1878, was completed on April 9, 1879.[58] This bridge was not entirely of steel, the approach spans and viaduct being constructed of wrought iron, but the five main spans, each 314 feet in length, constituted the first large use of steel in bridge construction.[59]

While the Glasgow bridge was taking shape the Chicago and Northwestern was building the drawspan of the Kinzie Street bridge, in Chicago, of what was said to be the same material. This span was placed in operation just one month before the Alton was able to operate trains over its newest bridge, thus it lost the right to say that it had accomplished the first steel bridge.[60] But the courage and persistency of General Smith and the faith of President Blackstone place to the credit of the corporation of 1861 the honor due the pioneers of this great bridge. It persisted for twenty years with no sign of weakness in the metal, but, in 1899, was forced to give way to another structure designed for heavier loadings. This service becomes all the more creditable when it is understood that in those twenty years the prevailing trainloads carried by it had doubled in weight.[61]

The Chicago and Alton Railroad Company of 1861 always considered itself to be a local road; that is, it devoted

[57] "The Hay Steel Process and the First Steel Bridge in America," ed., *Engineering News*, Vol. XVLI, No. 4, pp. 56-57.
[58] *Ibid.*, 53-54.
[59] *Ibid.*, 56-57.
[60] *Ibid.*, 53-54.
[61] *Ibid.*, 56-57.



From the collection of H. B. Voorhees

THE GLASGOW STEEL BRIDGE OF THE CHICAGO AND ALTON RAILROAD TAKEN IN 1879 WHILE UNDER CONSTRUCTION

itself to the building up of traffic originating upon and using the line to destination, rather than the development of traffic which used its rails only in part for the purpose of connecting with other lines for ultimate delivery. It did not entirely neglect through traffic when it seemed likely to the profit of the road to accept it, but the far greater portion of its business was done upon its own rails. Thus when the so-called Railway Laws were passed in Illinois, the management was ready to make the fair experiment of conducting its business strictly in the letter of the law, attempting no evasion in the matter of rate-making as laid down, knowing full well that the road would suffer loss of business, but completely confident that the labor expended in developing local traffic would stand it well in hand. The balance sheets for the period in which the laws were in operation show a profit for each year. The directors stated that by strict adherence to the law they hoped to bring home to the people that which they deemed an injustice, and thereby enlist the patrons of the road in its behalf in the effort to upset those laws.[62]

The road was so well managed that it gained a reputation far and wide as being the best equipped, maintained, and operated railroad in the West. Its locomotives, purchased or constructed by the company, now had the backbone necessary to handle the traffic, and there were plenty of them. The cars, constructed for the most part in the shops at Bloomington, were ample in number, both freight and passenger, each year seeing some improvements added in their construction. The track received special attention, large sums being spent for replacement of iron rails with those of steel, for reduction of grades, for new bridges, and many other improvements. The morale of the road was high, and long terms of service with the company were the rule rather than the exception.

[62] *Eleventh Annual Report of the President and Directors of the Chicago and Alton Railroad Company, 1873.*

When the Alton was sold, and Timothy Blackstone had left his office for the last time, a great figure passed from the scene of American railroading. He had given the best years of his life unselfishly to the service of those who had invested their capital, large or small, in the road, his efforts during his long tenure of office being toward the end that they might reap a fair return on their investment. He never let them down, and so deep was his concern as to their future as investors in the securities of the road, that he could not speak of the subject without great emotion.

Blackstone died on May 26, 1900. But the Alton lived on. The road has had its share of stormy weather since the turn of the century, but the enduring structure erected by Timothy Beach Blackstone has carried on, and today stands on the threshold of that which may prove to be its greatest adventure—postwar railroading.

CORPORATE HISTORY

The Alton was incorporated under the general laws of the State of Illinois, for the purpose of consolidating the property, rights, and franchises of The Chicago and Alton Railroad Company (of 1861) and The Chicago and Alton Railway Company. Pursuant to the above purpose, the Alton acquired at its organization the property, rights, and franchises of the two corporations named above, and subsequently acquired by purchase the property, rights, and franchises of one other corporation, The Atlanta and Lawndale Railroad Company. The Alton, itself, and those corporations, together with their predecessors, total 19 different corporations, of which four underwent a change of name, and comprise the line of corporate succession culminating in the Alton as at present constituted [1927]. The following chart shows the names of the corporations, the respective dates of incorporation, and for each predecessor the date of succession, the immediately succeeding corporation, and the manner of succession. Reference to each of these corporations is made in the last column by its respective number shown in the first column.[63]

[63] *Interstate Commerce Commission Reports, Valuation Reports*, 40: 111.

No.	Name	Incorporation	Succession
1	The Chicago and Alton Railroad Company.	Under general laws of Illinois through articles of consolidation, dated Mar. 8, 1906; filed in Illinois Mar. 14, 1906.	
2	The Atlanta and Lawndale Railroad Company.	Under general laws of Illinois, Sept. 14, 1905.	Sold to 1, Jan. 14, 1915.
3	The Chicago and Alton Railway Company.	Under general laws of Illinois, Apr. 2, 1900.	Consolidated Mar. 14, 1906, with 5 to form 1.
4	St. Louis, Peoria and Northern Railway Company.	Under general laws of Illinois, Feb. 18, 1896.	Sold at foreclosure Mar. 21, 1900, and conveyed to agents of holders of defaulted obligation in two parcels, viz: (a) Completed road from Springfield to Grove, Ill., and uncompleted road from Grove, Ill., to near Clinton, Iowa, to Louis L. Stanton. (b) Springfield to East St. Louis to Frederick P. Voorhees. The portion of parcel (a) between East Springfield and Grove, Ill., acquired by 3, Apr. 3, 1900, and parcel (b) by the Illinois Central Railroad Company, Sept. 29, 1900.
5	The Chicago and Alton Railroad Company (of 1861).	Under special act of Illinois, Feb. 18, 1861.	Consolidated Mar. 14, 1906, with 3 to form 1.

No.	Name	Incorporation	Succession
6	The Litchfield, Carrollton & Western Railway Company.	Under general laws of Illinois, May 2, 1889.	Sold at foreclosure Feb. 13, 1899, after receivership begun May 23, 1894. Title held by agents of purchaser and successor until acquired by 5, Sept. 30, 1904.
7	The Litchfield, Carrollton and Western Railroad Company.	Under general laws of Illinois, Mar. 20, 1882.	Sold to 6, July 18, 1892.
8	The Alton and St. Louis Railroad Company.	Under special act of Illinois, Feb. 4, 1859.	Sold to 5, Sept. 7, 1899.
9	The Sangamon and North West Rail Road Company.	See 10.	Sold to 8, Feb. 4, 1859.
10	The Petersburg and Springfield Rail Road Company.	Under special act of Illinois, Feb. 8, 1853.	Name changed to 9 on Mar. 1, 1854.
11	St. Louis, Jacksonville, and Chicago Railroad Company.	Under general laws of Illinois through articles of consolidation effective Dec. 10, 1862, filed Dec. 30, 1862.	Sold to 5, Sept. 7, 1899.
12	The Tonica and Petersburg Railroad Company.	Under special act of Illinois, Jan. 15, 1857.	Consolidated Dec. 10, 1862, with 13 to form 11.
13	Jacksonville, Alton and St. Louis Railroad Company.	See 14.	Consolidated Dec. 10, 1862, with 12 to form 11.

No.	Name	Incorporation	Succession
14	Jacksonville and Carrollton Railroad Company.	Under special act of Illinois, Feb. 15, 1851.	Name changed to 13 on Feb. 7, 1857.
15	The Mississippi River Bridge Company (of May, 1873).	Under general laws of Illinois and Missouri, through articles of consolidation, dated Apr. 25, 1873, filed in Illinois, May 12, 1873; Missouri, May 13, 1873.	Property in Illinois sold to 5 and property in Missouri to Louisiana and Missouri River Railroad, Apr. 29, 1895.
16	The Mississippi River Bridge Company (of April, 1873).	Under general laws of Illinois, Apr. 4, 1873.	Consolidated May 12, 1873, with 17 to form 15.
17	The Louisiana Bridge Company.	Under general laws of Missouri, Apr. 9, 1873.	Consolidated May 13, 1873, with 16 to form 15.
18	The Chicago and Illinois River Railroad Company.	Under special act of Illinois, Feb. 28, 1867.	Sold at foreclosure Sept. 4, 1879, after receivership begun Apr. 15, 1879, and acquired Sept. 5, 1879, by 5.
19	The Hamilton, Lacon and Eastern Railroad Company.	Under special act of Illinois, Mar. 7, 1867.	Sold to 5 Apr. 5, 1870.
20	St. Louis, Alton and Chicago Railroad Company.	Under special act of Illinois, Jan. 21, 1857.	Sold at foreclosure Sept. 27, 1862, after receivership begun Dec. 3, 1859, and acquired Nov. 1, 1862, by 5.

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No.	Name	Incorporation	Succession
21	The Chicago, Alton and St. Louis Railroad Company.	See 22.	Sold at public auction Dec. 15, 1856, to incorporators of 20, by trustees of fourth mortgage of Jan. 29, 1856.
22	The Chicago and Mississippi Railroad Company.	See 23.	Name changed to 21 on Feb. 14, 1855.
23	The Alton and Sangamon Railroad Company.	Under special act of Illinois, Feb. 27, 1847.	Name changed to 22 on June 19, 1852.

The foregoing chart does not include ten additional corporations whose properties, aggregating 84.15 miles, were at one time a part of the St. Louis, Peoria and Northern Railway Company, but which now form a part of the Illinois Central Railroad Company except certain right-of-way which was acquired by the Alton. A chart of these corporations follows.[64]

[64] *Interstate Commerce Commission Reports, Valuation Reports*, 40: 112-13.

No.	Name	Incorporation	Succession
1	The St. Louis and Eastern Railway Company.	Under general laws of Illinois, Dec. 16, 1889.	Sold to St. Louis, Peoria and Northern Railway Company, June 25, 1896.
2	The Saint Louis and Peoria Railroad Company.	Under general laws of Illinois, Jan. 28, 1889.	Sold to St. Louis, Peoria and Northern Railway Company, June 25, 1896.
3	The North and South Railroad Company of Illinois.	Under general laws of Illinois, Jan. 23, 1890.	Sold to St. Louis, Peoria and Northern Railway Company, June 25, 1896.
4	Saint Louis and Chicago Railway Company.	Under general laws of Illinois through articles of consolidation, filed Dec. 22, 1886.	Sold at foreclosure Oct. 4, 1889, after receivership begun January, 1889, and reorganized Jan. 23, 1890, as 3.
5	The St. Louis and Chicago Railway Company.	Under general laws of Illinois, May 9, 1885.	Consolidated Dec. 22, 1886, with 6 to form 4.
6	The St. Louis, Chicago and Peoria Railway Company.	Under general laws of Illinois, June 25, 1886.	Consolidated Dec. 22, 1886, with 5 to form 4.
7	The Saint Louis and Chicago Railroad Company.	Under general laws of Illinois, Sept. 11, 1888.	Sold to 4, Apr. 26, 1889.
8	Mount Olive Coal Railroad Company.	Under general laws of Illinois, Aug. 18, 1888.	Sold to 7, Oct. 4, 1888.
9	The Litchfield and St. Louis Railway Company.	Under general laws of Illinois, May 29, 1886.	Sold to 4, June 3, 1887.
10	The Chicago, Springfield and St. Louis Railroad Company.	Under general laws of Illinois, Jan. 17, 1883.	Sold to 9, June 12, 1886.

A SEARCH FOR COPPER ON THE ILLINOIS RIVER: THE JOURNAL OF LEGARDEUR DELISLE, 1722

EDITED BY STANLEY FAYE

A French superintendent of mines, searching for precious metals, traveled up the Illinois River in the summer of 1722. He admired the stream's western terrace in its extent from the narrows nearly four miles southwestward to the foot of Lake Pimiteoui (Peoria Lake). Within the previous four months a high officer of government had opined that during some years to come settlers ought not to be sent to the Illinois Country;[1] yet the Illinois voyager petitioned his government for a concession of land there.[2] Thus François Philippe Renault became proprietor, if not owner, of three linear miles (one French surveying league) of river frontage upon which, more than one century later, was to rise the city of Peoria. The army officer who accompanied him recorded the voyage of 1722 in the letter and the journal translated below.

Thirty years earlier, in the spring and summer of 1692, Henri de Tonti, his business partner François Daupin de la Forest, and his young cousin Pierre de Liette had built and garrisoned Fort St. Louis[3] on the terrace that was to claim

[1] Charles Legac, "Mémoire," Affaires Etrangéres (Paris), Mémoires et Documents, Amérique, 1:81-129, folio 120v. Except as otherwise noted, unpublished French texts have been consulted in the form of copies owned by the Library of Congress. Except as otherwise noted, references are made to the Archives Nationales (Paris), Colonies.

[2] *American State Papers. Public Lands* (Washington, 1860), V: 432.

[3] Vaudreuil and Begon to the minister, Oct. 26, 1720, B^1, 55:56-68v, folios 58, 64 (Illinois Historical Survey, Urbana); Theodore Calvin Pease and Raymond C. Werner, eds., *The French Foundations, 1680-1693* (*Illinois Historical Collections*, XXIII, Springfield, 1934), 327. The latter reference is made to a passage in the memoir that De Liette composed in Lower Canada in the autumn of 1705. At the second marriage of Alphonse de Tonti (to Marie-Anne Lamarque, at Montreal, May 3, 1717), the cousin signed the register of Notre-Dame Church as "Pierre de Liette, officer:" letter of Aegidius Fauteux, librarian, Montreal Public Library,

Renault's interest. Along the riverbank crouched the cabins of the six Illinois tribes who had lived previously near the Fort St. Louis that Cavelier de la Salle and Tonti had set nine years still earlier atop the Rock (Starved Rock). Except for two years, including at least one at Chicago,[4] Ensign de Liette found employment variously as assistant and as chief trader at the new Fort St. Louis until the spring of 1701, when he went back to Chicago to engage there during four years in trade among the Wea Miami.[5]

In the ensign's last full year at Fort St. Louis the lodges of the Illinois village, more than 260 in all, occupied about 800 yards of riverbank lands[6] and housed 800 warriors in a total population of about 3,000.[7] The Peoria tribe, the largest, consisted of more than 800 persons; the Kaskaskia, about 750; the Coiracoentanon, 600 or more. The Moingwena, Maroa, and Tapouara divided among themselves the fourth quarter of the 3,000 total.[8] The Cahokia and Tamaroa tribes of the Illinois lived elsewhere.

News from faraway Montreal had told Tonti late in 1699 that Pierre Lemoyne d'Iberville had directed an expedition by sea and entered the Mississippi mouth. A canoe voyage carried Tonti to a meeting on February 16, 1700, with Iberville at Fort Mississippi, which Frenchmen of a new colony were building on the great river a few miles up from the Gulf of Mexico.[9] Iberville's promise of political influence[10] caused Tonti to write immediately to his brother in

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to Ernest E. East, Peoria, Dec. 12, 1934. De Liette was an ensign half-pay from 1694 until at least 1711: extract from letter of De Liette, year 1711, $C^{11}A$, 120:140-41. From 1706 to 1712 he appears to have been an employee of Alphonse de Tonti at Cataracouy (Kingston, Ontario).

[4] Cf. Pease and Werner, eds., *French Foundations*, 327; Champigny to the minister, Oct. 13, 1697, *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, XXXIII (1903), 75.

[5] Pease and Werner, eds., *French Foundations*, 327, 392; Vaudreuil and Begon to the minister, Oct. 26, 1720, B^1, 55:63.

[6] Pease and Werner, eds., *French Foundations*, 327, 362. Cf. letter of Father Gabriel Marest in Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., *Jesuit Relations* (Cleveland, 1900), LXV: 80.

[7] Pease and Werner, eds., *French Foundations*, 327; letter of Father Jacques Gravier in Thwaites, ed., *Jes. Rel.*, LXVI: 120.

[8] Pease and Werner, eds., *French Foundations*, 342; *Jes. Rel.*, LXVI: 120, 228.

[9] Ruth Lapham Butler, ed., *Journal of Paul du Ru* (Chicago, 1934), *passim*.

[10] Tonti to his brother, Feb. 28, 1700, *Mid-America*, XXI (July, 1939), 220.

France in order that a petition should be presented to the King for grants and trade privileges in Mississippi River lands of the new Louisiana.[11] Late in March Tonti began his canoe voyage of return; one month later the boats of one of Iberville's companions followed him. When this latter expedition reached the mouth of the Illinois on July 12 or 13,[12] the six tribes of Lake Pimiteoui were perhaps already discussing an invitation from Tonti to remove to the bank of the Mississippi River, beyond the most westerly limits within which Quebec's government might thenceforth be confined.

The Rev. Jacques Gravier, superior of the Jesuit western missionary district, feared that the intercolonial boundary might be set farther toward the east and that division of French North America into two colonies might "close the road from Chicago to the narrows," that is to say, cut his own jurisdiction into two parts.[13] In charge of his missionary at Lake Pimiteoui, Father Marest, he put nevertheless the mission to the Kaskaskia. These Indians went in October to settle on the Mississippi left bank more than thirty post leagues below the mouth of the Illinois. Here it might well have been expected that they would be called "Illinois of the Ohio," since Tonti, in view of his petition, was expecting soon to command them for Louisiana from a headquarters post near the Ohio's mouth.[14] As *Illinois du détroit* (Illinois of the narrows) Father Gravier thought then of the five tribes remaining without a missionary at Lake Pimiteoui.[15] These became doubly "Illinois of the Detroit" because of a change in the conduct of Canadian trade.

Lack of trade profits within Canadian influence already had brought failure to Tonti's Illinois company. Tonti went

[11] *Précis* of petition, in Pierre Margry, ed., *Découvertes et Établissements des Francais* (Paris, 1887), V: 349.

[12] *Relation de Pénicourt*, in *Ibid.*, 409n., 410.

[13] Journal of Gravier's voyage, 1701, in *Jes. Rel.*, LXV: 102; cf. Margry, ed., *Découvertes et Établissements*, IV: 588.

[14] *Ibid.*, V: 349.

[15] *Jes. Rel.*, LXV: 100.

down again to Fort Mississippi and in July, 1701, waited at Biloxi Bay for Iberville's return from France with good news.[16] The news proved to be bad; in June the King had rejected Tonti's petition.[17] Tonti, like La Forest, was a half-pay captain (though wholly unpaid) of Canada, and La Salle had even assigned to him a full captaincy; yet adversity had brought Tonti now to such a pass that he accepted the King's offer of a Louisianan lieutenancy and salaried employment at Iberville's fort on Mobile River. There in the late summer of 1704 yellow fever ended his life.[18]

A commission as captain full-rank granted by the King on May 30, 1701, required that La Forest should abandon trade at Fort St. Louis and join the garrison of Quebec. La Forest conformed to this requirement in 1702,[19] but he continued to send out annually two canoes of trade goods to De Liette's station at Chicago and perhaps to the Illinois. Michel Accaux, the interpreter[20] and third partner in Tonti's enterprise, who signed his name "Aco," stayed with the Kaskaskia tribe at least until that same year; suggestion is found that he may have gone later to the settlement that La Forest's nephew, Charles Juchereau de St. Denis, formed for Louisiana on the Red River.[21] Five tribes remained on the Illinois River without the guidance of a resident missionary and without restraint from a resident military commander and garrison.

Only Tonti's fortified trading house on the Illinois, its agency at Chicago, and permission for two canoe loads of goods a year had been exempt from orders in the King's

[16] Cf. Sauvole to the minister, Aug. 4, 1701, $C^{13}A$, 1:315-22, folio 320.

[17] Cf. Margry, ed., *Découvertes et Établissements*, IV: 478-79, 487; V: 349; Stanley Faye, "The Arkansas Post of Louisiana: French Domination," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, XXVI (July, 1943), 640-41, 644-46.

[18] Vaudreuil and Begon to the minister, Oct. 26, 1720, B^1, 55:61-62; Bienville to the minister, Sept. 6, 1704, postscript, in Margry, ed., *Découvertes et Établissements*, V: 368.

[19] La Forest to the minister, n.p., n.d., $C^{13}C$, 3:147v (Illinois Historical Survey); Vaudreuil and Begon to the minister, Oct. 26, 1720, B^1, 55:61.

[20] Henri Joutel, "Remarques," Archives, Service Hydrographique (Paris), v. 115-19, No. 12, folio 8v.

[21] The surname Accaux, without a baptismal name, appears in the list of Natchitoches traders in the census (Jan. 1, 1726) of Louisiana, G^1, 464.

memoirs of May 21, 1698, and May 17, 1699, forbidding all trade at Quebec's western posts. In 1701 the King modified these orders by authorizing for western Canada a monopolistic trade company[22] that in the summer of that year established itself on the Detroit River with Antoine de Lamothe Cadillac as factor, with Tonti's brother Alphonse as military chief, and with all the western and southwestern country (*le pays d'enhaut*) as its district. Trading in Indian villages was forbidden. All trade was divided now between Chicago and Detroit.

Within the Detroit district late in 1703 or early in 1704 new freedom from restraint at home led some Illinois tribesmen into murderous barbarism.[23] So when, under orders from Quebec, Ensign de Liette left Chicago in the spring of 1705, the five chiefs from the five tribes of Lake Pimiteoui set out with him, likewise under orders from the Governor. In the course of their journey toward Montreal the Illinois rebelled against the French authority that was about to discipline them. At the Straits of Mackinac all five chiefs turned back to Lake Pimiteoui.[24] There, in July, the Peoria chief and 200 other men, a number almost equal to the full warrior strength of the Peoria, attempted murderous attacks on Father Gravier, to whose aid came faithful tribesmen of the village.[25]

Pierre de Liette meanwhile had arrived at Montreal to find that the King in a memoir of 1704 had withdrawn permission for the sending of two canoes a year to the West and had forbidden Captain la Forest to engage in any trade whatever.[26] De Liette could not even go back to his abandoned station of Chicago to rescue the 4,000 livres' worth of furs whose place in his northward bound canoes the five Illinois chiefs had occupied.[27] The Wea must go to the Detroit River

[22] *Mich. Pioneer and Hist. Coll.*, XXXIII (1903), 198-241, 247.
[23] *Ibid.*, 234, 337.
[24] Extract from letter of De Liette, year 1711, $C^{11}A$, 120:140-40v.
[25] Letter of Father Mermet, *Jes. Rel.*, LXVI: 50-65.
[26] Vaudreuil and Begon to the minister, Oct. 26, 1720, B^1, 55:57 (marginal gloss), 61,62.
[27] Extract from letter of De Liette, $C^{11}A$, 120:140v-141.

now if they would buy French goods. The Illinois likewise had become in a second sense Illinois of the Detroit. It was under such circumstances that the Governor of Quebec ordered Lamothe Cadillac and Tonti to declare the Lake Pimiteoui rebels as outlaws and to deny them trade privileges.

The village on Lake Pimiteoui split into two parts. Father Gravier, starting down the Mississippi late in 1706, thought of the five tribes as still composing one community.[28] Yet earlier in that year a missionary at Kaskaskia had acknowledged a change in Illinois affairs by describing the Illinois remaining at the narrows as "otherwise the Peoria."[29] Lamothe Cadillac refused to obey the Governor's order to outlaw the Illinois tribes, and the French government in the winter of 1707-1708 approved his refusal,[30] but fear of retaliation for the Peoria outrage may already have caused division among the Illinois of the narrows.

In a year that appears to have been 1705 the Coiracoentanon and the three smaller tribes did separate from the Peoria. All but the Peoria went nearly seventy miles up the river to live at the place where La Salle and Tonti had built the first Fort St. Louis in 1683.[31] There they became known to the French as the Illinois of the Rock. In 1715 they and the Peoria together could still muster 400 warriors.[32] On the river terrace just below the crag known today as Starved Rock, François Philippe Renault was to find them living in 1722, not yet wholly reconciled to their Peoria kinsmen. In 1730 they had their part in besieging the Foxes' fort nearby.[33] Carefully preserving the text of a treaty that Cavelier de la Salle had made with their ancestors, they outlived the French domination of Canada.[34] Memory of their presence

[28] Cf. *Jes. Rel.*, LXVI: 120.
[29] *Ibid.*, 50.
[30] *Mich. Pioneer and Hist. Coll.*, XXXIII (1903), 337, 390-94.
[31] Cf. *Jes. Rel.*, LXVI: 276, 286.
[32] Maunoir to Ramezay, Chicago, Aug. 28, Dadoncour to Longueuil, the Rock, Aug. 12, 1715, C[11]A, 35:53-55, 56-60v.
[33] Stanley Faye, "The Foxes' Fort—1730," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, XXVIII (Oct., 1935), 123-46.
[34] Louise P. Kellogg, ed., "La Chapelle's Remarkable Retreat through the Mississippi Valley," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXII (June, 1935), 63-67.

survives in the earliest published legends of Starved Rock.

The Illinois, even in their first years of separation, asked the Governor of Quebec to renew the influence of a French officer among them.[35] Their distant commandant, Alphonse de Tonti, ended his service at Detroit in January, 1706.[36] Their old friend La Forest received appointment to succeed Lamothe Cadillac there in 1710, but illness that was to prove fatal in 1714 detained him in Quebec.[37] In 1712 the Illinois lent aid to the substitute commander of Detroit against the outlaw tribe of Foxes. The Governor granted therefore at last to their great-chief Chachagouache an Illinois request for an Illinois post. Late in the summer of that year he ordered Pierre de Liette westward,[38] but only as a sort of special commissioner to the Illinois, without troops to command.

De Liette's return to the Illinois River did not deter the Foxes from carrying their war to "the tribes of the south." Early in 1714 Fox raiders killed or captured seventy-seven Illinois Indians.[39] Therefore the King of France, in an order of July 10, 1715, directed the acting Governor of Quebec to provide a military force for the ungarrisoned post. Preparations made in that year for a punitive expedition against the Foxes had caused De Liette to join the expedition's headquarters at the Straits of Mackinac, and the acting Governor had dispatched messengers to persuade the Illinois of the Rock into seeking safety by sending their families to rejoin those of the Peoria on Lake Pimiteoui.[40]

Lack of provisions and of ammunition for an army of

[35] Vaudreuil to the minister, Sept. 6, 1712, *Mich. Pioneer and Hist. Coll.*, XXXIII (1903), 560-61.

[36] Royal Society of Canada, *Proceedings and Transactions*, XI (1893), 28, 29.

[37] Cf. minister to La Forest, July 7, 1711, B, 33:124v-27v., f. 125.

[38] *Mich. Pioneer and Hist. Coll.*, XXXIII (1903), 550, 560-61.

[39] Vaudreuil to the minister, Sept. 16, 1714, cited in Francis Parkman, *A Half-Century of Conflict* (Boston, 1892), I: 319.

[40] Maunoir to Ramezay, Aug. 28, Dadoncour to Longueuil, Aug. 22, 1715, C^{11}A, 35:53-55, 56-60v. Various passages in these two letters are misinterpreted in Ramezay to the minister, Nov. 3, 1715, C^{11}A, 35:101-104v (translated in Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., *The French Regime in Wisconsin*, I [*Wisconsin Historical Collections*, XVI, Madison, 1902], 322 ff.) and Ramezay and Begon to the same, Nov. 7, 1715, C^{11}A, 35:15-51v, folios 45v-48.

more than 1,000 French and Indians brought about postponement of the expedition. De Liette and 100 other Frenchmen went eastward to pass the winter at Montreal. Arrival of the King's order in Quebec caused the acting Governor to assign one sergeant and eight privates as a garrison for the Illinois. Thus in November, 1715, Pierre de Liette found himself chosen to set out next spring with these men[41] for Lake Pimiteoui,[42] where he was to command for France at the re-established Fort Illinois.

Royal orders meanwhile had freed Lamothe Cadillac of Detroit from the problems of Illinois trade and the Fox rebellion by withdrawing him in 1710 to France and thence to Mobile Bay, where he arrived in June, 1713, as Governor of Louisiana. This new statesman was one of three men[43] composing a company to which the King had granted a monopoly of trade in the entire colony. This partnership had sought to have the Illinois River and the upper Mississippi transferred from Canada to its own commercial domain because of tales with which the minister of the colonies had asked Lamothe Cadillac to beguile the chief partner. The former factor of Detroit obeyed by recounting to Antoine Crozat "the immense riches of Louisiana, its mines of gold and of silver, its fine pearls, its ores and minerals," especially in the Illinois Country,[44] but the King restricted Louisiana's northerly ventures to the Ohio, the Missouri, and Kaskaskia.

Lamothe Cadillac pretended that he himself put little faith in the fables he repeated in France. Yet from Mobile Bay he sent to Vera Cruz for three Spanish miners and assayers, and four instead of three accepted his summons.[45] With these men and with his twenty-five-year-old son,

[41] Ramezay and Begon to the minister, Nov. 7, 1715, folios 22v-23. De Liette's presence in Montreal in May, 1717 (see note 3, above), suggests that his journey may have been postponed twelve months.

[42] Vaudreuil and Begon to the same, Oct. 26, 1719, $C^{11}A$, 40:50-67v, folio 53.

[43] Lamothe Cadillac to the minister, Jan. 2, 1716, $C^{13}A$, 4:509-35, folio 513.

[44] Same to same, June 29, Aug. 14, 1712, $C^{13}A$, 2:675-78, 687-89.

[45] Same to same, May 10, 1714, May 18, 1715, $C^{13}A$, 3-479,856.

Lieutenant Lamothe,[46] he arrived at Kaskaskia on May 11, 1715.[47]

Twenty Canadian woodsmen who had deserted civilization to become "republicans" of the wilderness had made a village for themselves near the mouth of the Kaskaskia River even before the Kaskaskia tribe removed thither in 1700.[48] The next dozen years increased the number of Illinois outlaws only to forty-seven, but within another two years the new trade outlet of Lamothe Cadillac's partnership lured 100 woodsmen from Montreal into joining those already on the Mississippi.[49] Among the older residents of Kaskaskia the most energetic and therefore, in the estimation of Quebec, the most objectionable of all was one named Bourdon. This man Lamothe Cadillac employed as a guide to the mines.

The Governor rested at Kaskaskia. His son, the lieutenant, with Bourdon, the four Spanish experts, a few French residents, and a band of Indians went out to examine spots near the Merrimac River (Missouri) where valuable minerals might lie. They found the lead mine that Indians long had worked. They found a "silver mine." They found even a "gold mine."[50] To one of these mines, which today still bears his name, spelled now Lamotte, the Governor sent back his son with forty men to begin excavation.[51] The prospectors had found in fact ores rich in lead though of low grade as to their content of silver. Yet no one could suggest to Lamothe Cadillac the source of the copper nuggets that, as he knew, Indians on the Illinois, the Wabash, and other rivers eastward of the Mississippi had picked up from the

[46] Same to same, Jan. 2, 1716, C[13]A, 4:524-25.

[47] Same to same, May 18, 1715, C[13]A, 3:855.

[48] Tonti to his brother, March 4, 1700, *Mid-America*, July, 1939, p. 223; [Captain Lambert Mandeville], "Exacte Description de la Louisianne," C[13]C, 1:346-56v, folio 353. A passage on folio 350 dates this memoir as of 1715.

[49] Ramezay and Begon to the minister, Nov. 7, 1715, C[11]A, 35:21v-22.

[50] [Duclos], "Mémoire touchant les Mines...aux Islinois," Aff. Etr., Mémoires et Documents, Amérique, 1:277-79v, folios 277-77v; Lamothe Cadillac to the minister, May 18, 1715, C[13]A, 3:856.

[51] Dadoncour to Longueuil, Aug. 22, 1715, C[11]A, 35:59v-60.

glacial till and had brought to Cavelier de la Salle, to Henri de Tonti, to Pierre de Liette, and to La Forest's brother-in-law, Charles Juchereau.[52]

Before starting on his voyage up the Mississippi, the Governor had promised to make a "true and accurate report" on such mines as he might discover in the Illinois Country. After his return to Mobile Bay in September, 1715, he wrote to the minister of the colonies a brief report that was at least half-truthful but in no wise candid. He said that a visit to France would be necessary in order to make orally a full report. At about the same time his colleague, the *commissaire-ordonnateur* (intendant), transmitted news received from Bourdon of Kaskaskia that Lamothe Cadillac had found great mineral riches in Merrimac River lands. The *ordonnateur* asserted that the Governor wished to return to France in order to organize a company for exploiting northern ores to his personal profit.[53] The ministry soon recalled the Governor for another purpose. Jean-Baptiste Lemoyne de Bienville, Louisiana's commandant-general, stayed on as acting Governor of a colony whose white population, not including that of the Illinois, was estimated at no more than 400 persons.[54]

Exploitation of Louisiana and of its minerals was delegated now to a new company. John Law, a Scottish banker living in Paris, brought into being on September 26, 1717, the Company of the West, which he called later the Company of the Colonies (*Compagnie des Indes*) and which, on February 23, 1720, he made into a subsidiary of his bank.[55] Under persuasion by John Law the French government transferred to Louisiana the regions of the Illinois River in order that the company, successor to Lamothe Cadillac's partnership, might mine copper and other precious metals there.

[52] Pease and Werner, eds., *French Foundations*, 4, 141, 347; [Mandeville], "Exacte Description," C[13]C, 1:352v.

[53] Lamothe Cadillac to the minister, Jan. 15, 1715, Jan. 2, 1716, C[13]A, 3:846, 4:510-11; [Duclos], "Mémoire," folios 277-79v.

[54] Legac "Mémoire," folio 82.

[55] Paul Harsin, ed., *Oeuvres Complètes de John Law* (Paris, 1934), III: 420, 425.

The new domain of Louisiana extended up the Mississippi and the Wabash to points that during a decade and more remained in dispute,[56] but a boundary already existed on the Illinois. In 1684 the King had decreed that the Illinois Country should reach northeastward only to include the Rock.[57] Only to the Rock, therefore, did Renault of Louisiana continue his river voyage of 1722, viewing the river-banks and seeking the origin of the copper that glaciers had brought from Hudson Bay.

Renault and many other men from France came to Louisiana as leaders of "concessions" or small groups of skilled workmen and indentured colonists, and also of exiled criminals, who were to develop the colony's resources. The first two transports, bringing soldiers, criminals, and one "concession" for the lower Mississippi, fewer than 400 persons in all, arrived at Mobile Bay in February and March, 1718. The second expedition, of three ships and 600 passengers, appeared on August 25. Out of these 1,000 troops and civilians, the commandant-general and the company's resident directors chose two infantry companies of fifty men each for the Illinois "Post of the Mines,"[58] which was to be called Fort de Chartres, and 100 colonists and criminals for the company's own establishment planned at Kaskaskia. Pierre Duqué de Boisbriant, the senior of the colony's two lieutenant governors (*lieutenants du Roy*),[59] received assignment as military leader.[60]

At the end of October, 1718, coasting barges carried these men to New Orleans, where they waited until bateaux (flatbottomed boats) of about four tons each[61] could be found for their northward journey. In December they set out. The ice and low water of winter caught them on the river, and

[56] *Jour. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, Oct., 1935, pp. 124-25; Margry, ed., *Découvertes et Établissements*, VI: 511.
[57] Margry, ed., *Découvertes et Établissements*, II: 382-83.
[58] Bienville to the Council, Sept. 25, 1718, $C^{13}A$, 5:160-66, folio 164v.
[59] Legac, "Mémoire," folio 82.
[60] *Ibid.*, folios 82v, 84, 84v.
[61] *Ibid.*, folio 107, marginal gloss.

they did not reach their destination until May, 1719.[62] On March 17 of that year twenty French miners, engaged for work under Renault's direction, came to Mobile Bay, but a colonial war with the Spaniards of Pensacola prevented their prompt departure for the Illinois. News of their arrival at their journey's end had not yet descended to the Gulf Coast on March 5, 1721.[63] At that time another band of colonists and one company of soldiers were waiting to be sent to the north.[64] Including these latter groups, the white population of the Illinois Country was estimated at 500.[65]

Presence of Louisiana's troops on the upper Mississippi made unnecessary a Canadian post on the upper Illinois. The company in 1718 informed the Governor of Quebec as to its plans, and the Governor therefore in May, 1719, sent orders to Pierre de Liette to return to Canada with his garrison of Lake Pimiteoui, consisting now of one sergeant and ten privates. In the following year the Governor could report that De Liette and his men had come down to Quebec. The King had forbidden Quebec to establish any other post in the Illinois Country.[66] Protection of that land against the Foxes became a duty of Louisiana and of Lieutenant Governor de Boisbriant.

Prospecting for mines became the duty of François Philippe Renault in 1721. A letter written in November of that year arrived in the following March at the new colonial capital, New Orleans, directed to the colony's inspector-general, Diron, by Diron Dartaguiette, who was a captain in Louisiana's Illinois garrison. Dartaguiette wrote from Kaskaskia that "Renault, a concessionaire who came to the colony for mining operations, was then at a lead mine, which he was busying himself in working, and that what

[62] Legac, "Mémoire," folios 84v-85.
[63] *Ibid.*, folios 86v-87, 110v.
[64] *Ibid.*, folios 106-106v.
[65] *Ibid.*, folio 110v.
[66] Vaudreuil and Begon to the minister, Oct. 26, 1719, Oct. 26, 1720, C^{11}A, 40:50-67v (folios 52v-53), 42:8-33 (folio 16).

he had taken from it produced ninety percent. If that is true," commented the inspector-general, "confirmation will be gained from the specimens that the Sieur Renault will be having sent down to the lower part of the colony."[67]

Caution in speaking of mineral riches was suitable now in New Orleans because of disturbances that John Law's Mississippi Bubble had caused in France. In December, 1720, Law's Paris bank had closed its doors, and speculation in shares of the company had collapsed with the bank. The company remained solvent in fact, but because of the bank failure it entered into a receivership that lasted nearly three years.

Two of the several receivers arrived in Louisiana early in 1721. From these colonial commissioners news of promotion to a sublieutenancy in Lieutenant Governor de Boisbriant's force went up the Mississippi to a cadet of Fort de Chartres who signed his name as Legardeur Delisle. This young man, who was to learn of the Illinois River at first hand, may have been a member of the Canadian family Legardeur, whose ancestor had come to America in 1636. The patron whose influence brought a military commission to the cadet may have been Commandant-General Lemoyne de Bienville, since the friendship between the Canadian families Legardeur and Lemoyne was such that a few years later one Legardeur Delisle married one of Bienville's many Lemoyne relatives. The chief passenger accompanying Legardeur on his Illinois River voyage was Renault. A passenger named Bourdon, acting as interpreter, may have been that Bourdon of Kaskaskia whom Lamothe Cadillac's Spaniards had instructed in the art of prospecting.

What confidence these colonials held in the future of Louisiana and of the Illinois Country may be seen not only in Renault's petition for a land grant but also in Legardeur's journal of his voyage. Cavelier de la Salle had pictured in

[67] Notes of March, 1722, annexed to census of Louisiana, Nov. 24, 1721, G^1, 464.

living words the River of the Illinois down which he first traveled in 1679-1680.[68] La Salle's captain, Henri Joutel, wrote likewise vividly concerning his own upward journey of 1687.[69] Patrick Kennedy, the American merchant of Kaskaskia, who was another searcher (though of 1773) for illusive copper mines,[70] and the French-American traders who shared their knowledge in the early 1800's with Governor Edwards,[71] produced minute descriptions of the Illinois River and of its banks. But Sublieutenant Legardeur Delisle, in his journal of voyage, told little of the sights to be seen along the river. He turned his eyes toward mines and toward high terraces on which the company might locate settlements. He sought to justify and to keep his new military rank by proving his worthiness to the commissioners. Giving thanks for his promotion, he addressed those officials as follows:[72]

LETTER OF LEGARDEUR DELISLE

From Fort Chartres, July 21, 1722.

Gentlemen:

I have not until now dared to take the liberty to have the honor of writing to you, but the voyage that I have just made on a search for mines causes me to take [that liberty] and procures me the honor of assuring you of my very humble respects. I shall have the honor of telling you, Gentlemen, that I was ordered with a detachment of twelve soldiers to go escort M. Renaud on the River of the Illinois, where the Indians had found some pieces of copper that they had brought to M. de Boisbriant, among others from a coal mine where a great quantity was said to have been found. Having gone to the place that had been indicated to us, the Sieur Renaud caused a search to be made there without finding any copper mine and did not find even evidences of one, but while searching for a coal mine that we had been told was near where we had pre-

[68] Margry, ed., *Découvertes et Établissements*, II: *passim*.

[69] *Ibid.*, III: 471-77.

[70] Kennedy's journal in Thomas Hutchins, *A Topographical Description of Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and North Carolina* (London, 1778), 51-64. An edited retranslation from General Collot's plagiarized and amended extracts is reprinted in *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society, 1908* (Springfield, 1909), 269-98.

[71] Ninian W. Edwards, *History of Illinois from 1778 to 1833 and Life and Times of Ninian Edwards* (Springfield, 1870), 93, 97-98. Cf. map of Illinois River, year 1790, in *Jour. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, XXXVII (March, 1944), 52.

[72] C[13]A, 6:292-93. The letter and the journal which follow are in my translation. S. F.

viously searched, we found a mine of silver and of copper of which the aforesaid Sieur Renaud made the assay and which [as to what was found] on the surface of the earth is much more valuable than that of M. de Lamotte.

I made a little journal of this journey, which I take the liberty of sending you, in which you will see the place where this mine is. It is in a very fine place and very easy to work and near a fine region for settlement. I am delighted to have made this journey and [delighted] that it was not fruitless, as I hope, for the assay that the Sieur Renaud made of this mine was of what was found on the surface of the earth, and it was found to be much better than those that have been made of M. de Lamotte's. I take the liberty of returning you my very humble thanks for the commission of sublieutenant that you have done me the honor to send me. I beg you very humbly to be pleased to continue your kindness toward me. To merit it the best way is to serve you faithfully. To that end I apply myself as well as I am able, assuring you of the deep respect with which I have the honor to be,

Gentlemen,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

LEGARDEUR DELISLE

JOURNAL OF LEGARDEUR DELISLE

Journal of the voyage that I made on the River of the Illinois to escort the Sieur Renaud with a detachment of twelve soldiers to go on a search for mines, the 23rd of the month of May, 1722.[73]

Today, Saturday, the 23rd of the month of May, we left Fort Chartres just before two o'clock and landed to pass the night at the village of the Metchy,[74] which is a half-league from the said fort.

Sunday the 24th we were detained by rain until noon, when the weather cleared and we left with a good wind. We traveled until five o'clock in the evening, when a storm came up that obliged us to camp. We made two leagues that day.

Next day, Monday the 25th, we left at broad daylight, generally fair weather, and traveled all day, having a good current, and made five leagues that day.

Next day, Tuesday the 26th, at lunch time we went ashore at a little river that is called La Glaise, which is on the left in going up the Missicipi. We made five leagues during the day and passed the night one league below a place that has been called The Old Village, which is at the left in going up the Missicipi.

Next day, Wednesday the 27th, we reached the village of the Cahokia at two hours past noon, where we learned that the Indians of

[73] C[13]C, 2:181-85v.

[74] Metchigamia.

Pemitewy had defeated twenty-eight Foxes, that the said Foxes had come back 200-strong to the village of the Rock, (whither we were bound [and] whither the people of Pemitewy had retired after their success) in order to attack the two villages, but that they had done no more than kill two men, one small boy and one woman and that they had not dared attack the community. We made that day two leagues and a half.

Next day, Thursday the 28th, I had a talk made to the Indians of Cahokia and gave them the present that I had for presenting to them on behalf of M. de Boisbriant, with which they were greatly pleased.

Next day, Friday the 29th, after hearing Mass we left Cahokia and went to make camp at Grand Island, which is four leagues from where we had left in the morning.

Next day, Saturday the 30th, we had a strong wind from the southeast which stayed with us all day and brought us to the entrance of the river of the Illinois, which is nine leagues from where we had passed the night.

Next day, Sunday the 31st, we left at broad daylight from the entrance of the aforesaid river. We found no current at all in the aforesaid river of the Illinois because it was low. The first meadow[75] that is within is on the left in going up—about one league. Toward nine o'clock in the morning we went ashore foi lunch at a second meadow[76] (which is very fine for settlement, as is the other one), where rain caught us and obliged us to pass the night. We made three leagues that day.[77]

Next day, Monday, the first of the month of June, we left at daybreak. Two leagues up we found the same meadow coming to the riverbank. Toward eleven o'clock rain caught us, which obliged us to camp and to pass the night three leagues from where we had left in the morning.

Next day, Tuesday the 2nd, toward two hours past noon we found a river on the right in going up, which is named River of La Sensue.[78] At nine o'clock we had passed another, which is also on the right in going up, which is called Macopine River. We made six leagues during the day.

Next day, Wednesday the 3rd, we left in fair weather. During the day we found four rivers, one of which is on the right in going up, which is called Mauvaise Terre River, and the three others are on the left in going up, two of which are of names unknown to me and the other is called Pierre à Flèche River,[79] which is at the beginning of a fine meadow for settlement, which is called Pierre à Flèche Prairie, where we camped to pass the night after making seven leagues in our day.

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[75] Marshall's Landing.

[76] Bloom's Landing.

[77] During the first four days in the stagnant water of the Illinois, Legardeur underestimated distances traveled by more than thirty percent; his "league" works out at 3.53 English miles. Beginning with the entry for June 4, his estimates of travel are nearly correct for the post league of 2.422 English miles.

[78] Apple Creek.

[79] McGee Creek. The French name means arrowstone.

Next day, Thursday, Corpus Christi Day, the fourth, we left at broad daylight. At noon we went ashore to wait for the hunters who had been in a fine meadow, which is at the right in going up, after a herd of cattle to try to kill one of them to bring to us; being obliged to wait for them until evening we found it necessary to camp at the farther end of the meadow in which we had gone ashore at noon, and made only four leagues during the day.

Next day, Friday the 5th, we left at daybreak with very fine weather. Toward two hours past noon we found a river at the left that is called Cottonwood River.[80] We camped in the evening in a meadow that is on the right in going up and very fine for settlement. We made during the day seven leagues.

Next day, Saturday the 6th, I caused departure before daybreak in order to have time to cover some distance before the great heat. We traveled until ten o'clock in the morning, when we found a river at the right in going up that is called Sagimont. After the great heat had passed we left. We went to pass the night at an island that is named Grand Island, which is two and a half leagues long, and made during the day eight leagues.

Next day, Sunday the 7th, we left at broad daylight in order to avoid the heat, which had been very great the preceding day and was so this same day too. Toward five hours past noon we passed a sort of little lake[81] where, up about a quarter of a league, on the right in going up, we found a fine meadow, very high, on which there are two little buttes that are called the Breasts. We camped one league above and made seven leagues during the day.

Next day, Monday the 8th, we passed three rivers, the first two of which are at the right in going up, the names of which I do not know, and the other is on the left, which is called Carp River.[82] We slept at a place that is called L'Evantaille,[83] which is six leagues from Pemitewy, and made eight leagues during the day.

Next day, Tuesday the 9th, we left before daybreak in order to reach Pemitewy,[84] where we arrived at eleven o'clock in the morning and found no one there, as we had been told when we passed Cahokia. The Indians of this place had gone to make their village with those of the Rock, who are twenty-six leagues from there. We found Apple River, which is four leagues below Pemitewy on the right in going up. As soon as we reached the village we sent an Indian, to whom I had given passage

[80] Crooked Creek. The evening's camp is near Beardstown.

[81] Quiver Lake.

[82] Mackinaw River is on the right.

[83] Turkey Island. The French name, The Fan, refers perhaps to the spreading tail of the turkey.

[84] In the margin is the comment: "Pemitewy is a fine meadow which is on the left in going up." Measurements agree that the landing for the village was at about mile 162.5, near modern Bridge Street, Peoria.

from Cahokia, to go to the Rock, and ten French with him, in order that we should be shown the place where the coal mine was in which copper was said to have been found, so that if we should not get an Indian at the Rock to come back with us we should still be sure of the place and could go examine it. We found a little river one league below the village on the left in going up, in which is that coal mine, about five leagues within, but it is not possible to go as far as that mine by dugout canoe, unless it should be in time of high water, and going there from the village is only one league and a half.[85] And there is still another coal mine, which is on the other side of the lake that is in front of Pemitewy, to which we counted on going on our return journey. This lake begins directly in front of Pemitewy, and one league from there there is a narrows, after which the lake begins again and continues during six leagues. At the widest place, which is in front of the village and where it begins, it is about a quarter of a league wide.

Next day, Wednesday the 10th, we left the village of Pemitewy at sunrise and passed the lake, at the farther end of which there is a fine meadow on the left which begins at the top of the lake and runs along and ends one league and a half up the river. The wind having favored us, we made eleven leagues during the day and camped at another meadow on the right in going up.

Next day, the 11th, we found another meadow before noon, which is on the left and which is called Little Crow Prairie, at the farther end of which meadow there is a little river on the same side that is called Little Crow River. One league above we found another little river, which is on the right in going up. We made that day eight leagues.

Next day, Friday the 12th, we reached the village of the Rock at two hours past noon. One league from the village on the right there is a little river that is named Vermilion River, where the meadow begins on the other side of this river and continues to beyond the village of the Rock. The water being too low, we were unable to go up in front of the said village, which obliged us to camp in the meadow that is on the right, on the same side as the village, about a quarter of a league away. We made that day seven leagues.

Next day, Saturday the 13th, we stayed at the Rock. I could not cause a talk to be made to the Indians because a great many of them were out hunting and it is more effective to talk to them when they are all assembled than when there are only a few people.

Next day, Sunday the 14th, I caused a talk to be made to the Indians by the Sieur Bourdon and gave them the present that I had on behalf of M. de Boisbriant; and having learned that the two villages were not agreeing well together, that is to say, the people of Pemitewy and those of the Rock, I divided the present and gave them each half of it in order

[85] Measurements suggest Horseshoe Bottom, on Kickapoo Creek.

that they should not quarrel together, with which they were all quite satisfied.

The same day there came an Indian who brought to M. Renaud two pieces of the copper that he said he had found, one twenty-five leagues away from the village and the other one league away.

Next day, which was Monday the 15th, M. Renaud took all his people to the nearer place, and I went there too with a detachment of eight soldiers, and I left the others to guard our bateaux. We caused work to be carried on there all that day, and the next day, which was Tuesday, also, without finding anything but a coal mine.

Next day, Wednesday the 17th, M. Renaud went to walk along the bluffs that are over against the village and on which there is a fine meadow, in order to see if he could not see some evidence of a mine. He came back in the evening without finding anything.

Next day, Thursday the 18th, we left the Rock without the Indians that the chiefs had promised us for showing us the places where there were mines at Pemitewy and at Apple River. Five Indians came to me to ask passage to come to Cahokia, and I took them aboard believing that they would serve us as well as the others to point out to us the places where copper had been found.

Next day, Friday the 19th, we traveled all day.

Next day, Saturday the 20th, we reached Pemitewy at ten o'clock in the morning, where we passed the night.

Next day, Sunday the 21st, we were stopped by rain. Toward evening I caused the bateaux to be anchored in the middle of the lake.

Next day, Monday the 22nd, we left early in the morning to go to the coal mine where we had been when we went up. We all went there except seven men whom I left to guard the bateaux, which were in the middle of the lake in order to be safe from attack by enemies in case any should come while we should be at the mine, where we worked all that same day.

And the next day, Tuesday the 23rd, without finding any evidence of a copper mine or of any other except coal, M. Renaud, seeing that there was nothing, told me that it was useless to waste time here since there was nothing. We left immediately and went to pass the night again at the village, where we had previously passed the night.

Next day, Wednesday the 24th, we crossed to the other side of the lake in front of the village, where we went ashore, after which one of the Indians who were with us told us that he would find the other coal mine. We went prepared to work there, and searched all morning without being able to find it. Convinced that we could not find it, we decided to go back to the bateau. An Indian who had stayed with Bourdon and Ollivier, behind the said Ollivier as they came back, found a piece of stone that he brought to M. Renaud, who, seeing it, said that there was copper in that stone and that we must go to the place where he had found that stone,

which he did immediately and went there with the same people whom he had taken in the morning, and found some piece or other of that stone, which he brought back.

Next day, Thursday the 25th, we left Pemitewy to return. Having reached Apple River we asked our Indians if it was possible to go into that river and to go up it very far. They told us that it was impossible to go a quarter-league without finding the shoals that would bar us the route. Nevertheless we went in there and found to be true what the Indians had told us. We asked them if they did not know where copper had been found in that river. They told us that they knew nothing of it. Seeing that, we continued our journey and stopped to pass the night twelve leagues below Pemitewy.

Next day, Friday the 26th, we left at broad daylight and traveled until nine o'clock in the morning, when we went ashore because of the great heat. Toward four hours past noon we left and traveled all night.

Next day, Saturday the 27th, we traveled again all night until nine o'clock.

Next day, Sunday the 28th, we left after the heat had passed and traveled all night in stormy weather. We saw an eclipse of the moon that same evening.

Next day, Monday the 29th, we passed out of the river of the Illinois and found no current at all in the Missicipi because the Misoury was full, which prevented us in the night from being able to pass it, for lack of current.

Next day, Tuesday the 30th, we passed the Missoury at seven o'clock in the morning, and we came to Cahokia at ten o'clock in the morning, where we learned that some French had been defeated by the Chickasaw and by the Foxes or Sioux.

Next day, Wednesday, which was the first of the month of July, we reached Fort Chartres in rainy weather that lasted during all the day.

All the meadows that I have noted in this journal are all very fine for settlement. For the rest, the land along this river is in great part swamps.

WAYLAND FEMALE INSTITUTE (ALTON, 1853-1856)

By Grace Partridge Smith

I

IN the annals of early Illinois education already chronicled, no mention has been made, so far as observed, of the Wayland Female Institute which was opened at Upper Alton in 1853. Even considerable effort by persons in contact with sources of information on education in the state has been without result in disclosing any account of this school.[1] It would appear to have been an almost mythical venture were it not for facts regarding its existence buried in early issues of the *Alton Evening Telegraph*, and for brief mention in an early work.[2] Further data are available in a packet of family letters and a four-page *Circular* of the school itself. By presenting particular items gleaned from these sources, it is proposed to fill a gap in the roster of early academies, institutes, and seminaries in Illinois.

Turning back ninety-two years to the old files of the *Telegraph*, we discover the following notice:

> All who may feel interested in the Alton Female Academy, are requested to attend a meeting at the office of D. J. Baker, Esq., on Second Street, this afternoon, at three o'clock, for the purpose of making arrangements to procure a teacher and suitable rooms, that the school may be organized as soon as convenient.[3]

[1] On this matter, acknowledgment is due the late Edward J. Hughes, former Secretary of State and librarian of the Illinois State Library; Harriet M. Skogh, chief of general reference, Illinois State Library; Paul M. Angle, secretary of the Illinois State Historical Society; Margaret Kohlhepp, secretary to the president of Shurtleff College; Helen E. Hilton and Edna Stellhorn, librarians of Shurtleff College; and Mrs. Jane W. Bassett, librarian, Jennie D. Hayner Memorial Library, Alton.

[2] John Reynolds, *Sketches of the Country* (Belleville, Ill., 1854), 54. I am indebted to Mrs. Bassett for calling my attention to this reference.

[3] July 2, 1853. Excerpts reproduced here were furnished by Earl Good, foreman, Newspaper Indexing Unit, WPA Extension Project, *Alton Evening Telegraph*, Alton.

It is likely that this summons was the result of a growing interest on the part of the citizens of Alton in higher education for their daughters. To be sure, Alton Female Institute had been chartered at Upper Alton in the 1830's, but the school did not function, it is said, "for many a year."[4] The need for advanced instruction for "females" appeared to be insistent at the time the above notice was published. We may possibly regard the Wayland Female Institute of the 1850's as a link between the visionary Alton Female Institute of the 1830's and Rural Park Seminary for Young Ladies established in the 1860's.

About a week after the initial meeting at which plans for the organization of the new school were to be considered —specifically, on July 8, 1853—it was announced in the *Telegraph:*

> We understand that arrangements have been completed for opening a School for Young Ladies, at the *Bostwick House* in Upper Alton, about the middle of September next. A gentleman, who stands high as a Teacher, has been engaged as Principal. The public will soon be made acquainted with the plan, &c., relating to this interesting movement.

Further details of the project were revealed in the *Telegraph* for July 25, 1853:

> En passant, we will also notice that we are informed that the elegant mansion of Mr. Bostwick, in Upper Alton, is to be converted into a Female Seminary of the highest grade, under the auspices and management of Mr. Kimball, of Keokuk, a thoroughly experienced and worthy Preceptor of a Female Academy, in that place. This is also to be considered as under the fostering care of the Baptist Church [as is Shurtleff College].

As plans progressed, the public was informed of the name by which the new school was to be known. Indeed, it was used as heading to a paragraph which ran:

> WAYLAND FEMALE INSTITUTE
>
> This Institute, situated in Upper Alton, will be opened for the reception of pupils, Wednesday, September 21st. Extensive and permanent

[4] *Laws of Illinois*, 1835-1836, pp. 178-80; Austen Kennedy de Blois, *The Pioneer School* (New York, 1900), 77.

arrangements are being made to render the Institution worthy of liberal patronage. No pains or expense will be spared in securing the highest order of Teachers, and the requisite appliances by the aid of which they may the most successfully prosecute their labors. Engagements have been made with the Omnibus proprietor to carry all pupils from Lower and Middle Alton, to and from the Institution at half price. Boarding pupils taken on the most liberal terms.[5]

Prospective patrons of the school were advised on the healthfulness and accessibility of Upper Alton as follows:

> It [the Institute] is pleasantly located in the thriving and salubrious village of Upper Alton, two miles from the steamboat landing of Alton city, and readily accessible from all parts of the country by steamboats and railroads.[6]

In the Institute's *Circular*, the same considerations were emphasized:

> Upper Alton is proverbial for its salubrious and healthful air, and now forms the "cool retreat" of many families from St. Louis, and other places, during the hot weather. From every part of Illinois, and, of the "Great West," it is most easily accessible by railroads and steamboats; hence it combines the very desirable advantages of accessibility and retirement.

Efforts to gain a following for the prospective school do not wholly account for this superlative emphasis on Upper Alton as a health resort; the epidemic of cholera raging in St. Louis around these years may have been partially responsible for such glowing tributes. As for moral atmosphere, the "fostering care" of the Baptist Church and the "principles of the Christian religion" had already been guaranteed, both in newspaper and *Circular*, as guiding factors in connection with the Institute. These assurances must have weighed possibly even more heavily in the minds of parents than those of healthfulness.

THE *CIRCULAR*

Forerunner of the actual opening of the Institute on September 21, 1853, was a four-page prospectus giving in-

[5] *Alton Evening Telegraph*, Aug. 17, 1853.
[6] *Ibid.*

Wayland Female Institute As It Appeared in 1853

formation on points of vital interest to incoming pupils. One of these folders, salvaged by the author from family correspondence of the period, serves as an important primary source in establishing the existence of the Institute. It is believed to be the only copy extant, though it is entirely possible that rummage in Alton attics might bring another to light. If for no other reason, the sample would still be conspicuous for the assortment of type displayed in its pages and for the styles of printing then in vogue.

HOUSING

For as ambitious a program as that outlined in the *Circular*, suitable housing was imperative. This was found in a pretentious mansion known locally as "Bostwick's Folly," a cut of which adorns the first page of the folder.[7] This house was constructed in 1839, by John Bostwick, on a 200-acre site. It was virtually an estate with gardeners' lodges, ornamental shrubs, towering forest trees, winding paths, and inviting vistas. Eventually, the property passed into private hands and the original acreage dwindled to one-third its former size. In 1903, Bostwick's Folly was destroyed by fire.[8] On account of this disaster, the early history of the schools which successively took advantage of its spacious rooms for educational purposes is somewhat vague. Among other records lost were no doubt those which, had they been saved, might have established earlier the identity of Wayland Female Institute.

DEPARTMENTS AND COURSES

The new school offered courses in three departments:

[7] Lithograph by A. McLean, No. 30, Chestnut Street, St. Louis. The architecture was of the four end-chimney type. Its steep roof was topped by a hexagonal cupola which was surrounded by a square promenade deck. It is suggested in Illinois Writers' Project, *Illinois Historical Anecdotes* (Chicago, 1940), 25, that cupolas were frequently used in Madison County homes and that the original purpose of the platform was to afford a clear view of the old-time boat races on the Mississippi River.

[8] For various facts concerning the Bostwick residence and for other details, the author wishes to thank Colonel R. L. Jackson, superintendent and president of Western Military Academy at Alton. This school has occupied the site since 1892. An attractive "View-Book" of the Academy includes a picture of the original Bostwick house, though taken from a different angle from that heading the *Circular*.

Primary, Preparatory, and Collegiate. In the first two, the pupils were to pursue the common English branches until fitted for the Collegiate Department. To complete the latter, four years were necessary, each year consisting of two sessions. In view of subjects studied in various female academies in early Illinois,[9] it may be of interest to compare with them the courses of study planned by the Institute for the Collegiate Department:

First Year

First Session—Analysis of the English Language, Ancient History, Algebra, Latin Reader, Ancient Geography.

Second Session—Algebra finished, Physiology, Cornelius Nepos, Botany.

Second Year

First Session—Geometry, Modern History, Rhetoric, Virgil, Domestic Economy.

Second Session—Geometry and Conic Sections, Chemistry and Cicero's Orations.

Junior Year

First Session—Philosophy of Natural History, Trigonometry and Mensuration, Cicero de Amicitia, and Logic.

Second Session—Natural Philosophy, Natural Theology, Geology, Mineralogy, and Cicero de Officiis.

Senior Year

First Session—Intellectual Philosophy, French Language, Evidences of Christianity, Criticism, and Astronomy.

Second Session—Moral Philosophy, Astronomy, French, Political Economy, and Butler's Analogy.

In connection with this program, it was noted that exercises in composition were to be "attended to throughout the course," and that the faculty of Shurtleff College had "kindly tendered to the Pupils of the Institute the privilege of attending their courses of lectures and experiments in Chemistry and Natural Philosophy free of charge."

ACCOMMODATIONS AND EXPENSES

Provision was made for fifty boarding pupils who were to be under the "constant and most vigilant watch care of

[9] Cf. Clarence P. McClelland, "The Education of Females in Early Illinois," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Vol. XXXVI, No. 4 (Dec., 1943), 402-05.

the teachers." In government of all, it was stated that "the principles of the Christian religion, will . . . both in educating and disciplining, form the basis of action." Tuition and board, including rooms, fuel, and lights for the course of forty weeks were listed at $150. For the same period, tuition in the Collegiate Department was $40; in the Preparatory, $30; in the Primary, $15.[10] Extra expenses that might be incurred were indicated as follows:

Music, on Piano, Melodeon or Guitar, each	$44.00
Use of Piano	8.00
Use of Melodeon	4.00
Use of Guitar	2.00
Ancient and Modern Languages, each	20.00
Painting in Oil Colors	30.00
Painting in Water Colors	20.00
Drawing in Pencil, Crayon, India Ink, &c	15.00

ADMINISTRATION AND FACULTY

Names of the people listed below—supporters and patrons of the Institute—must have contributed greatly to gaining public confidence in the venture and to the "enviable reputation" which publicity attached to it from time to time. Members of these boards were conspicuous for their connections with public life in civil, military, and religious circles. None was more widely known than the Rev. John Mason Peck, pioneer preacher, author, and educator. Scarcely less notable were many others whose names follow:

Board of Trustees

Rev. N. N. Wood, D.D., Chairman.
M. G. Atwood, Esq., Secretary.
George W. Long, Esq.
Elias Hibbard, Esq.
Rev. S. Y. McMasters, D.D.
Rev. John Teasdale.
Hon. D. J. Baker.

Board of Reference

Rev. N. N. Wood, D.D., Alton, Illinois.
Rev. S. Y. McMasters, D.D., Alton, Ill.
Rev. R. F. Ellis, Alton, Ill.
Elijah Gove, Esq., Quincy, Ill.
A. W. Coverly, Esq., Carrollton, Ill.
Rev. J. W. Bulkley, Jerseyville, Ill.

[10] Evidently these were the fees for local pupils.

John M. Krum, Esq., St. Louis, Mo.
W. M. McPherson, Esq., St. Louis, Mo.
Mason Brayman, Esq., Chicago, Ill.
Rev. J. C. Burroughs, Chicago, Ill.
Col. James Dunlap, Jacksonville, Ill.
Rev. H. G. Weston, Peoria, Ill.
W. W. Weston, Esq., Springfield, Ill.
Rev. G. S. Baily, Pekin, Ill.
John Palmer, Esq., Carlinville, Ill.
Thos. W. Clagette, Keokuk, Iowa.
Rev. G. J. Johnson, Burlington, Iowa.
Joseph Gillespie, Edwardsville, Ill.
Gen. J. Shields, Belleville, Ill.
Wm. Kenny, Esq., Belleville, Ill.
Rev. John M. Peck, Rock Spring, Ill.
Rev. E. Veach, Bloomington, Ill.

Though not fully organized in the beginning, the *Circular* announced as principal, James Spencer Kimball, and Mrs. J. S. Kimball as associate principal. Teachers of French, music, and drawing were still to be chosen. In the material at hand, there is no indication of the persons selected for these posts. However, in a later newspaper report it is stated that "music, instrumental and vocal, language, &c., receive a most careful attention." We may assume, then, that in due time additional instructors were secured to supplement the work of the principal and his associate, both of whom were far from being mere figureheads.

II

On September 21, 1853, the school was a going concern and enjoyed a measure of success during its first year with an attendance of sixty-eight pupils. A summer session ("short term") of about eight weeks followed. For this the principal received $100 from the forty pupils who took advantage of this extra opportunity for continuing their studies.[11] The second academic year was scheduled to open on Wednesday, September 13, 1854. In noting this date, the *Telegraph* commented:

[11] Statements in a letter from the author's father, James Otis Partridge, dated at Upper Alton, July 20, 1864, to his mother, Mrs. Otis Partridge, of Templeton, Mass. Partridge was a brother of Mrs. Kimball; his various letters about this time from Alton, Galena, Hamilton, and Keokuk indicate that he kept in close touch with the interests of the Kimball family.

The same thorough system in disciplining and teaching which has thus far characterized the Institution, and gained for it an enviable reputation, will be constantly and perseveringly carried out . . . and no labor or energy shall be spared which would render the school worthy of continued patronage.

Another item, published in the *Telegraph* earlier, testifies to the esteem in which the Institute and its head were held:

"The Wayland Institute," for young ladies, is a promising and rising Academy. It is under the guidance of Professor Kimball. This gentleman is an accomplished scholar, and worthy of such delicate and important trust confided in him.[12]

There appears to be no further mention in the *Telegraph* of the Institute or its personnel. From other sources it is evident that the school kept its doors open until June, 1856. During the following summer months, the Kimballs visited in the East. On returning they spent some time in Alton, but settled in their former home at Keokuk where, early in 1857, Kimball went into business. In the late summer of that same year he received a call from some of the principal men of Alton to come back and open the Institute again.[13] Though nothing came of this, the invitation may serve as an index of the success of the school during its life of three years and of the satisfactory guidance of its principal.

A realistic picture of life at the Institute is recorded in a letter written by Mrs. Kimball during the family's last days at Upper Alton. No doubt the pessimistic tone was due to fatigue and anxiety. For three years she had been teaching and supervising the domestic aspects of the school. Moreover, she was worried about the financial backing and future status of the school.

The excerpt below reflects these conditions:

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[12] May 31, 1854. This is the exact wording of the reference cited *ante*, note 2. The *Sketches* were also published in 1854. Did the *Telegraph* copy from Reynolds, or vice versa? The matter is merely of passing interest.

[13] Statement in letter from James Otis Partridge, dated at Hamilton, Jan. 6, 1857, to his mother, Mrs. Otis Partridge, and another dated Aug. 5, 1857.

UPPER ALTON, May 12, 1856.

DEAR MOTHER:

. . . Could you possess a more intimate acquaintance with my situation here, and know the daily routine of duties that I must meet and perform I am sure you would feel less inclination to censure me [for not writing] and more inclined to pity. Perhaps I ought, in justice to myself, to tell you something of what I have to do. In the first place, then, are my duties in the schoolroom, seven hours a day, nearly, which quite exhaust my energies and unfit me for any further application, either of body or mind. Besides these, in connection with the school are compositions to be corrected, numberless wants to be listened to, from the boarding pupils, and directions given. Thus you can easily see that it is the same as school for me, nearly all the time. Indeed, I seldom have a half hour uninterrupted, except when I drop everything, and go out for exercise. . . . I do not know yet where we shall spend vacation. Possibly we *may* go East. But whether we come or not will depend considerably on what our prospects are for a school here another year. The present arrangements do not suit us and we are not going to continue them, after the close of the session, which is in about five weeks. And unless we can rent the entire place, we shall not, I think, be likely to stay in Alton another year. Aside from the buildings, and the premises, about the Institute, I believe many far more favorable locations for a school of the character of ours might be found. [More] than this, I am not in love with Alton, indeed I am frank to say I like it less than any place I have been in, in the west. Still, the school is pleasant, and steadily gaining confidence. We have, too, many very warm friends here, whom we should be sorry to leave and we shall not thus disappoint and grieve them without a sufficient reason.

. . . The prospects of Shurtleff College at present look rather dubious. No President, and no Faculty after the close of the year. They have all resigned. The College affairs will affect us unfavorably, we are led to suppose. . . .

CLARA.[14]

In spite of the statement in the *Circular* that "this Institution is to be permanent in character," circumstances hinted at in the letter above conspired to limit the life of Wayland Female Institute to three years. Just how the troublous times at Shurtleff College affected the school we may only conjecture. There were certainly some affiliations between the two, possibly of a financial nature, though what the tie was is not clear. Nor can we rely on minutes of Shurtleff's board

[14] Letter from Mrs. J. S. Kimball to her mother, Mrs. Otis Partridge. This letter is now in the collection of the Illinois State Historical Library.

of trustees to explain the matter, since these records do not go back to 1853.[15] From Mrs. Kimball's letter, some personal obligations in connection with the Institute are evident.

III

We pass from the story of the Institute proper to a brief sketch of its principal and his wife, drawn from family letters, personal knowledge of the author, and from various outside sources.

James Spencer Kimball[16] was born in Strafford, Vermont, on June 12, 1817. After a preparatory course at Shelburne Falls Academy at Shelburne Falls, Massachusetts, he entered Dartmouth College at Hanover, New Hampshire, from which he received the degrees of Bachelor of Arts and Master of Arts in 1847 and 1850 respectively.[17] After a year as principal of the high school at Woburn, Massachusetts, he left Boston with fourteen other teachers for St. Louis, Missouri, where positions of one sort or another awaited individuals of the group. One of the number of journeying teachers was Miss Clara Partridge,[18] of Templeton, Massachusetts, who had also studied at Shelburne Falls Academy. An eight-year romance between the two culminated on this tour, for they were married at Niagara Falls, where the ceremony was performed on the ever-popular *Maid of the Mist*.

There was ample time for the honeymoon, since the trip extended over a three-weeks' period. In comparison with the modes and speed of travel today, their itinerary is noteworthy: by railroad from Boston to Springfield; by stage from Springfield to Albany, New York; by railroad from Albany to Syracuse; by Erie Canal to Buffalo; by steamboat to Detroit, Michigan; by railroad and stage to New Buffalo,

[15] Information from Miss Margaret Kohlhepp, secretary to the president of Shurtleff College.

[16] The author's maternal granduncle.

[17] Letter from Charlotte E. Ford, alumni recorder, Dartmouth College. See also George Chapman, *Sketches of the Alumni of Dartmouth College* (Cambridge [Mass.], 1867), 367.

[18] The author's paternal aunt.

Michigan; then across Lake Michigan to Chicago, Illinois; by canal boat down the Illinois and Michigan Canal to the Illinois River; thence down that river and the Mississippi to their objective—St. Louis.[19]

On arrival in St. Louis, Kimball took a position in the St. Louis Classical High School[20] where he continued teaching four years. He then moved to Keokuk, Iowa, to engage in further educational activities. In 1853 he went to Upper Alton to head the new Wayland Female Institute. Moving back to Keokuk in 1857, Kimball spent the next decade there, then took his family to Baraboo, Wisconsin, where he was still active as an educator. After their health failed, the couple made their home with a son in Chicago, and later in Kankakee. Mrs. Kimball died in 1896 and Mr. Kimball in 1901, both deaths occurring in Kankakee.

The immediate Kimball family consisted of four children: Clara Niagara, who died in early childhood, Spencer, Francis Wayland, and Edward M. Some interest attaches to the two youngest boys. Francis Wayland, now deceased, spent more than fifty years in railroading, mostly in Illinois. No doubt he was named for Dr. Francis Wayland (1796-1865), eminent Baptist clergyman, author, and educator, for twenty-eight years president of Brown University. It is also probable that the name of the new school at Upper Alton memorialized that man of vision, accomplishment, and sterling worth.[21]

The youngest son, Edward M., early showed talent for

[19] For this itinerary, acknowledgment is made to the *Baraboo* (Wis.) *Weekly News*, May 12, 1897.

[20] Established in 1843 by Dr. Edward Wyman who later conducted Wyman's Institute in St. Louis. He moved this school to Alton in 1879, purchasing from Shurtleff College the entire Bostwick estate of 200 acres. In 1892 the property was bought from Dr. Wyman by a Colonel Brown who initiated on this site the Western Military Academy. These facts have been made available through the courtesy of Col. R. L. Jackson, now head of this school. I am especially indebted further to C. M. Fraizer, chief clerk of the St. Louis Board of Education, for many references regarding Dr. Edward Wyman.

[21] Another possible namesake of Dr. Wayland was Francis Wayland Parker, born in New Hampshire, who came to Illinois in 1858 as principal of the school at Carrollton. In 1883 he became principal of the Cook County Normal School (John Williston Cook, *Educational History of Illinois* [Chicago, 1912], 269).

mimicry, and, as this developed, he was attracted to the circus (probably Ringling's). He finally joined a theatrical troupe. True to the romantic tradition of his parents' union, he was married on the stage, after a performance one night, to a member of the company then touring on one-night stands. Their daughter, Clara, was born in Chicago. After a period with her parents, often with a bureau drawer for a bed, she spent some years with her uncle, Francis Wayland Kimball, then living in Chicago. Here, as he explained to the author, his little niece could enjoy a real home instead of being bandied about from town to town, and the parents could carry on their careers free of their charge, but able to visit her at any convenient time.

Grown to adulthood, little Clara continued the histrionic talents of her parents. As Clara Kimball Young[22] she became conspicuous for emotional and dramatic roles both in the movies and on the legitimate stage. Father and daughter appeared many times together in such plays as "Marrying Money," "The Common Law," and many others. James Spencer Kimball's claim to fame will rest rather on the fact that he was the grandfather of this beautiful and talented actress than on his own career as an educator.

In person, Kimball was tall and slender, and was often referred to as "a gentleman of the old school." Primarily an educator, he did not always find the academic niche to his taste, but wandered off into various lines of business, particularly the then enticing field of real estate. Politically, he was an antislavery man, a free-soiler, a Republican, and a strong prohibitionist. Mrs. Kimball was small and frail. She had the education and the personal characteristics that qualified her for teaching and guiding young people. Both Mr. and Mrs. Kimball were Baptists—ardent churchgoers and supporters of religious work.

Considering the matter superficially, it seems almost in-

[22] For a brief sketch of Clara Kimball Young, see *Who's Who in America*, Vol. XVI (1930-1931).

credible that an institution such as Wayland Female Institute was reputed to be, one which enlisted the patronage of such eminent persons as those noted on the boards of trustees and reference, should have completely vanished from Illinois' educational map. But we must remember that such was the fate of numerous other academies, institutes, and seminaries in the state projected during the first half of the nineteenth century. Many of these ventures had to be abandoned almost before they were envisioned; some collapsed at the end of a year, some after three, and some never functioned at all. Wayland Female Institute is one of those forgotten schools of Illinois whose ephemeral careers, reviewed from time to time, give us a more intimate acquaintance with pioneer efforts at the intellectual improvement of Illinois' sons and daughters—especially the "females."

ILLINOIS IN 1944

BY MILDRED EVERSOLE

January 3
Stockyards in Chicago and other Midwestern cities are crammed with hogs as the largest supply of the last ten years is marketed. Soldiers from Fort Sheridan are detailed to help handle the heavy volume of hogs in the Chicago yards.

January 6
Ida M. Tarbell dies in Bridgeport, Connecticut, at the age of eighty-six. Author of many books, she was known to Illinoisans chiefly because of her writings on Lincoln.

January 7
A special session of the Illinois General Assembly, convening today, is asked by Governor Green to amend present laws in order to facilitate voting by men and women in the service.

January 13
State purchase of a 2,000 acre tract of land in Iroquois County is announced by Governor Green. The area will be used as a public fish and game preserve.

Legislation to facilitate soldier voting is completed by the Illinois General Assembly, now meeting in special session. The bill, immediately signed by the Governor, will become effective on July 1.

January 15
Threat of a general railroad strike ends as three railway-operating unions which had been holding out, sign a wage agreement previously entered into by two other operating

unions. The U. S. government took over the nation's railroads on December 27, 1943, when a strike seemed imminent.

January 16
Brigadier General Frank L. Taylor, acting assistant adjutant general of Illinois, dies in Springfield at the age of seventy-one. He had served on the Mexican border and in the Spanish-American War.

William H. Wheat, Republican congressman from Illinois, dies in Georgetown, D. C., at the age of sixty-four. His home was in Rantoul.

January 17
The $14,000,000,000 Fourth War Loan is launched by a national radio broadcast.

January 18
The U. S. government returns the nation's railroads to private operation. They were seized on December 27, three days before a strike call deadline. The strike was later called off when wage agreements were reached.

January 19
Strikers are not entitled to receive benefits under the state unemployment compensation act for the time they are idle while on strike, according to an opinion of the Illinois Supreme Court, announced today. Another ruling of the court interprets the state banking act as meaning that an out-of-state bank cannot set up an office in Illinois.

January 24
James E. McClure, publisher of the *Carlinville Democrat* from 1901 to 1934, dies at the age of seventy-six. He had held a number of federal and state positions.

February 1
New draft rules, in effect today, eliminate "screening" physical examinations and provide for all inductees to have

twenty-one day furloughs between their acceptance by Army or Navy doctors and their actual induction.

February 3
The Army announces the discontinuance of seven of the twenty-six officers' training schools in the United States and a general reduction in the training program.

February 4
A veterans' aid bill providing muster-out pay of from $100 to $300 is signed by President Roosevelt. The sum of $100 will be paid for less than sixty days' service, $200 for sixty days within the United States, and $300 for sixty days outside the United States.

February 7
Paul Hansen, formerly chief engineer of the Illinois State Water Survey and later of the Illinois State Department of Health in Chicago, dies at his home in Chicago. In private business in recent years, he had designed and constructed many city waterworks.

Collapse of underground coal mine tunnels at Gillespie causes a number of residences to twist and warp. Several streets and highways are also damaged. Two mine shafts are closed until they can be cleared of gas.

February 12
Vice-President Henry A. Wallace visits Illinois. He is the principal speaker at Lincoln's birthday services held in Springfield.

February 13
Leonard William Schuetz, member of Congress since 1931, dies in Washington. His home was in Chicago.

Benjamin F. Affleck dies at his home in Winnetka at the age of seventy-four. He had been associated with the Universal

Atlas Cement Company since 1906, president from 1915 to 1936 and director since 1936.

February 16
Gordon L. Pirie, vice-president and general manager of Carson, Pirie, Scott & Company, dies at the age of sixty-three. Mr. Pirie, who lived in Glencoe, had been associated with the Chicago store for thirty-nine years.

February 19
The U. S. Army announces its intention to discontinue most of its college training program. About 110,000 of the 145,000 men now assigned to the Army Special Training Program will be transferred from colleges to camps by April 1.

February 20
Jesse Jay Ricks, native of Taylorville, dies in Plandome, New York, at the age of sixty-four. After practicing law in Chicago from 1903 until 1917, he became associated with the Union Carbide and Carbon Corporation, serving as president from 1925 until 1941, and chairman of the board since 1941.

March 2
Dr. George Washington Post, president of the Illinois State Medical Society and past president of the Chicago Medical Society, dies in Chicago, aged fifty-nine. He had practiced medicine in Chicago for thirty years.

The U. S. Treasury reports a total of $16,730,000,000 subscribed in its Fourth War Loan. The goal was $14,000,000,000.

March 3
Short-term specialized college training to be given by the Army and Navy to high school graduates who are under military draft age is announced today. Tests for acceptability will be held throughout the nation on March 15.

March 8
Peter F. Smith, member of the Illinois legislature from 1910 to 1924, dies at his home in Chicago at the age of seventy-five.

March 12
Lewis L. Boyer, member of Congress from 1936 to 1938, dies at the age of fifty-seven. His home was in Quincy.

March 14
OPA cuts the basic family car gasoline ration to two gallons a week in the Middle West and Far West, effective March 22. This puts the whole nation on the same basis as the Atlantic states.

Minimum pay of forty cents an hour for thousands of workers in major industries in Illinois, Indiana, and Wisconsin is ordered by the U. S. Department of Labor. The ruling will take effect on March 20.

Local draft boards are instructed to end deferments of men eighteen to twenty-five years old unless they are certified as "key men" in war industries.

March 16
Emil A. W. Johnson, member of the Illinois House of Representatives from 1918 to 1922 and 1926 to 1930, dies at the age of eighty. His home was in Chicago.

March 19
William Hale Thompson, mayor of Chicago from 1915 to 1923 and 1927 to 1931, dies at the age of seventy-four.

March 20
Samuel Emory Thomason, publisher of the *Chicago Daily Times* and the *Tampa Tribune* [Florida], dies in Tampa, aged sixty-one. He was president of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association from 1924 to 1926.

March 21
The municipal airport authorities act is pronounced unconstitutional by the Illinois Supreme Court. Another decision invalidates a 1941 provision applying the state's two per cent sales tax to sales for resale and to sales of materials used in professional and service occupations. Also invalidated is Illinois' three per cent oil production tax.

March 24
The Keyes copy of Lincoln's Gettysburg Address, purchased by school children of the state, is presented to the people of Illinois. It is placed on permanent display in the State Historical Library in Springfield.

March 26
Roscoe Pulliam, president of Southern Illinois Normal University since 1935, dies at the age of forty-seven.

March 31
The Army Air Forces announces that it will terminate its air crew training program in eighty-one colleges of the nation on June 30. More than 40,000 students will be withdrawn monthly until that date.

April 1
Joseph C. Blaha, state representative from 1910 to 1914, dies at the age of sixty-seven. His home was in Chicago.

April 8
Selective Service Director Maj. Gen. Lewis B. Hershey instructs local draft boards to delay inductions of men over twenty-six even if they have passed physical examinations and have been approved for service. Younger men will be called first.

April 11
The following persons are nominated in Illinois primary elections: U. S. Senator, Richard J. Lyons and Scott W. Lucas; Governor, Dwight H. Green and Thomas J. Courtney;

Lieutenant Governor, Hugh W. Cross and E. C. Hunter; Secretary of State, Arnold P. Benson and Edward J. Barrett; State Treasurer, Conrad F. Becker and Earl W. Merritt; Auditor of Public Accounts, Arthur C. Lueder and William Vicars; Attorney General, George F. Barrett and Sveinbjorn Johnson; Clerk of Supreme Court, Earle B. Searcy and Casimir Griglik; Congressman-at-Large, Stephen A. Day and Emily Taft Douglas.

April 12

Resignation of Paul F. Jones, director of the state department of insurance, is announced. It will take effect April 15.

Members of the CIO union employed at the Montgomery Ward and Company mail-order plant in Chicago go on strike when the company fails to comply with a WLB order to extend the contract which expired in December, 1943. The company contends that CIO no longer represents a majority of the employees.

April 14

Nellis P. Parkinson is named acting director of the state department of insurance.

A majority of the 4,300 members of the Illinois Union of Telephone Workers, balloting under the auspices of the National Labor Relations Board, vote against calling a strike. Members were seeking a $2.00 weekly wage increase which had been denied by WLB.

April 24

Corn sales are "frozen"—except to the government—in 125 commercial corn producing counties in five Midwestern states including Illinois. The order, announced by the War Food Administration, will be effective for a sixty-day period.

Members of the Illinois state reserve militia and federal

troops are patrolling levees along the Mississippi and Illinois rivers. The Illinois has overflowed in many places between Beardstown and Grafton, forcing the evacuation of many families. Danger spots on the Mississippi range all the way from St. Louis to Cairo.

April 25
Strikers return to work at Montgomery Ward and Company. The company still refuses to comply with a WLB order directing it to extend provisions of an old contract with the CIO union pending determination of the union's bargaining status.

April 26
U. S. Army troops take possession of the Chicago plant of Montgomery Ward and Company. The company has rejected President Roosevelt's order to recognize a CIO union which the company contends does not represent a majority of its employees.

April 27
Sewell L. Avery, chairman of the board of Montgomery Ward and Company, is carried by soldiers from the firm's Chicago plant when he refuses to turn the property over to government agents. His eviction is ordered by U. S. Attorney General Francis Biddle.

Splashboards are placed atop the Beardstown seawall as the Illinois River continues to rise. Only one-way traffic is permitted on the toll bridge across the river at that place.

The number of officer candidate schools will be reduced to eleven by fall, according to Army announcement. Originally numbering twenty-six in the United States, these schools are being discontinued because of diminishing Army requirements for junior officers.

April 28
(William) Franklin Knox, Secretary of the Navy since 1940 and newspaper publisher for many years, dies in Washington, D.C., at the age of seventy. He was formerly general manager of Hearst newspapers, and since 1931 had published the *Chicago Daily News*. He served with Theodore Roosevelt in Cuba in 1898, and was a colonel in World War I.

State conventions of both the Republican and Democratic parties are held in Springfield. Both sessions are perfunctory, and are adjourned until later dates.

April 29
The raging Mississippi River has broken through its levees in several places along Illinois shores. Grand Tower and Chester report water standing in the streets to a depth of several feet.

Mrs. Eleanor Gridley, lecturer on Lincoln and author of *From the Log Cabin to the White House*, dies in Chicago at the age of ninety-eight.

Troops are withdrawn from the Chicago plant of Montgomery Ward and Company. The troops are no longer needed to enforce the federal government's seizure of the plant because a court order restrains Ward officials from interfering with the government's operation.

April 30
The Mississippi River levees near Gorham and Harrisonville are washed out, causing the flooding of thousands of acres of farm lands and many miles of highways and railroads. Residents of the vicinity are evacuated by soldiers and coastguardmen who are attempting to save remaining levees.

The 110-foot toll bridge drawspan at Beardstown is knocked

off its pivot when an LST craft, southbound from the Seneca shipbuilding yards, crashes into it. Damage is estimated at $50,000 plus loss of revenue.

George Fred Rush, author of the Illinois primary election law and writer on equity pleading and practice, dies at his home in Chicago, aged seventy-six. He had been judge of the circuit court of Cook County since 1919.

May 1
While U. S. Navy men around the world hold memorial services for (William) Franklin Knox, Secretary of the Navy who died on April 28, impressive burial rites are held at Arlington National Cemetery.

May 3
All meats except beefsteaks and roasts are removed from the wartime ration list, effective at midnight.

May 5
Four hundred and fifty workers at the Hummer Manufacturing Company, Springfield, go on strike when the company refuses to grant a contract containing a maintenance of membership clause.

May 7
Howard P. Savage, former national and state commander of the American Legion, dies in Chicago at the age of sixty.

May 8
Pullman, Inc., is ordered by the federal court to separate its railroad car-building business from its sleeping-car operation. This is the culmination of government antitrust action against the company.

May 9
Federal troops and state militia are released from further flood patrol duty as the flood waters of the Mississippi re-

cede. The Farm Security Administration announces that flood restoration loans will be available to farmers.

After fourteen days of government control, the Chicago plant of Montgomery Ward and Company is returned to its owners. In an election participated in by employees, the CIO local union is chosen as the employees' bargaining agency.

May 11

A quarter-million acres of Illinois farm land are under water, with 90,000 acres of crops ruined. According to an estimate of the spring flood damage by State Agricultural Director Howard Leonard, losses will amount to $5,000,000. Most of these occurred in Monroe, Jackson, St. Clair, Randolph, Union, and Pike counties, with smaller losses in west central counties along the Illinois and other rivers.

The Selective Service Bureau announces that most men twenty-six to twenty-nine years old will be deferred for at least six months. Older men engaged in war work will probably be deferred indefinitely.

May 12

The Navy V-12 college training program will be reduced twenty-five per cent from its present enrollment of 70,000 on November 1. The program will be continued at the 131 colleges now having contracts with the Navy, but the groups will be smaller.

Federal Judge William H. Holly, in Chicago, grants the government's request for dismissal of the Montgomery Ward case without prejudice.

May 16

George Ade, author of numerous books and plays, dies at the age of seventy-eight. Though he lived in Indiana most of his life, he was a reporter on the *Chicago Record* from 1890 to 1900.

May 18
The Republican state convention, meeting in Springfield, adopts an American foreign postwar policy as outlined in the "Mackinac charter" and recommends the following persons for University of Illinois trustee candidates: Charles L. Engstrom, Peoria; Charles Wham, Centralia; and Charles S. Pillsbury, Chicago.

May 21
A seventeen-day work stoppage at the Hummer Manufacturing Company plant in Springfield is ended with the seizure of the plant by the U. S. government. The strike started because of company refusal to include a union maintenance clause in its contract with workers.

May 26
Five hundred troops from Camp Ellis and four companies of state militia are called to flood duty north of Quincy as the Mississippi River inches its way upward, threatening thouands of acres of farm land and several industrial plants in Quincy.

May 27
Gustav A. Brand, Chicago artist specializing in murals, dies at the age of eighty-one. Coming to the city from Germany in 1893 to supervise decorations at the World's Columbian Exposition, he became a permanent resident. He was city treasurer, 1935-1939.

May 28
The turbulent Mississippi breaks through a levee south of Warsaw, taking a heavy toll in livestock and crops. An unprecedented height of 22. 95 feet is recorded.

June 6
Illinois joins the nation in observing D-day with special services in churches. In many places, also, citizens unite in silent prayer on the streets and in places of business.

June 9
For the second time in eighteen months, Hans Max Haupt of Chicago is found guilty of treason for sheltering his son, Herbert, who was later executed as a Nazi spy. The jury which convicted him recommends leniency.

June 11
An Illinois service officers' school opens in Jacksonville. First of its kind, the school is conducted for service officers of all veterans' organizations to assist them in meeting rehabilitation problems of returning veterans.

June 12
The Fifth War Loan drive opens, with a goal of $16,000,000,000.

June 14
Federal Judge John P. Barnes sentences Hans Max Haupt to life imprisonment and a $10,000 fine, following his second conviction on a treason charge.

June 19
Benjamin H. Marshall, Chicago architect, dies at the age of seventy. He was the designer of many outstanding buildings in the country, especially of hotels and theaters.

June 22
A tornado, ripping through southern Wisconsin, strikes parts of Stephenson County, Illinois, where a number of farm buildings are damaged and two persons killed.

President Roosevelt signs the "GI bill of rights." It provides unemployment compensation of $20 a week for 52 weeks, job placement and hospitalization, educational aid of $500 per year plus subsistence of $50 per month and $25 for dependents, and guarantees 50 per cent of private loans to a limit of $2,000.

June 23
The Army reports 10,080,000 in service on June 1. The Navy had 3,400,646 on May 1.

June 26
The twenty-third Republican national convention opens in Chicago. The first session is featured by preliminary organization and an address of welcome by Governor Dwight H. Green.

June 28
Thomas E. Dewey, Governor of New York, and John W. Bricker, Governor of Ohio, are nominated for the presidency and vice-presidency, respectively, by the Republican national convention, meeting in Chicago.

Edward J. Hughes, Illinois Secretary of State since 1932, dies in New York City. He had served four terms as a Democratic member of the Illinois Senate. His home was in Chicago.

President Roosevelt signs a bill giving government employment preference to war veterans, veterans' widows, and wives of disabled service men.

June 30
Richard Yates Rowe, Jacksonville, is appointed Secretary of State by Governor Green to succeed the late Edward J. Hughes. He was formerly chairman of the Republican State Central Committee and Executive Secretary of the Illinois Budgetary Commission.

WPA ends officially at midnight. In its eight years' existence it employed 8,500,000 people and spent almost $13,000,000,000.

July 1
"Rationing" of workers in certain areas of Illinois begins. Under this plan, instituted by the War Manpower Commission, all workers must be hired through the U. S. employment service.

Several new laws, passed by the last legislature, go into effect today: women in industry will receive equal pay for equal work with men; county officials must sell land delinquent in taxes for more than ten years; and public schools are required to teach American history, instruct pupils in the use of the Australian ballot system, and provide regular daily periods for physical training.

July 3
Funeral services for Edward J. Hughes are held in Chicago, with burial in Calvary Cemetery, Evanston.

The Illinois State Democratic convention, meeting in Chicago, endorses President Roosevelt for renomination and nominates the following men for trustees of the University of Illinois: Dr. Karl A. Meyer, Kenney E. Williamson, and Walter McLaughlin.

July 6
Harry O. Owen, president of C. O. Owen & Company, Chicago printing firm, dies at this home in Downers Grove. He was vice-president of the Printers' National Association and of the Graphic Arts Association of Illinois.

July 8
The Fifth War Loan of $16,000,000,000 has been oversubscribed by $500,000,000.

July 9
The Army's Gardiner General Hospital, located on the south side of Chicago, is officially dedicated. The 1250-bed hos-

pital was named for Lieutenant Ruth M. Gardiner, of Indianapolis, who was the first Army flight nurse to be killed in this war.

July 10
Mayo General Hospital, Galesburg, is dedicated by the Army. In recognition of the service of the Mayo brothers during World War I, the ninety-four building hospital is named for them.

July 12
An executive order from the President provides for commissioning all Army nurses as actual Army officers, giving them the full authority of their officer rank.

July 13
The resignation of Francis B. Murphy as state director of labor, effective August 1, is announced. He will be succeeded by Robert L. Gordon of Urbana.

July 15
The Reverend William M. Groves, Springfield, dies at the age of seventy-nine. He was a member of the Illinois House of Representatives from 1908 to 1916.

The Navy has now reached its manpower goal of 3,650,000. It is accepting 10,000 men monthly as replacements.

July 18
The first cornerstone of the Illinois State House is unearthed a few feet from its original position. It was found to be defective soon after it was laid in 1868, and another stone was put in its place. The whereabouts of the original one had been unknown until today.

A fire which threatens the entire Douglas Aircraft plant near Park Ridge destroys the company's administration building. Damage is estimated at $1,500,000.

July 19
The Democratic national convention opens in Chicago. Addresses of welcome are made by Mayor Edward J. Kelly and U. S. Senator Scott W. Lucas.

Pullman, Inc., announces that it will give up operation of its sleeping-car business and will retain its manufacturing units. A federal court order on May 8 decreed that the company could not carry on both businesses.

July 20
Franklin Delano Roosevelt is nominated by the Democratic convention for a fourth term as President of the United States.

July 21
Senator Harry S. Truman of Missouri is named the vice-presidential nominee of the Democratic Party.

July 22
Walter Otto Froehling and Otto Richard Wergin, both of Chicago, are sentenced to five years in prison. Formerly condemned to death for aiding Herbert Haupt, executed Nazi saboteur, they were given a new trial because of a legal technicality. Their wives, who had been sentenced to twenty-five years' imprisonment, are discharged.

July 25
Federal Judge William J. Campbell, Chicago, rules that Illinois does not have to approve the federal ballot "because states have sovereign rights over balloting and federal courts have no jurisdiction."

July 29
The 650-foot span of the Mississippi River bridge at Chester topples into the river during a freak windstorm. The structure, built only two years ago at a cost of $1,385,000, was the only bridge between St. Louis and Cape Girardeau, Missouri.

July 31
Frank J. Loesch, Chicago lawyer, dies in Cooperstown, New York, at the age of ninety-two. President of the Chicago Crime Commission for more than ten years and a member of President Hoover's law enforcement committee, he was widely known for his prosecution of crime and lawlessness.

August 3
Most of the Army Service Forces at Camp Grant will be transferred to Fort Lewis, Washington, by October 15, though the prisoner-of-war camp will be retained, according to announcement made today. Training ground of the 86th Division in World War I, the camp was reactivated in January, 1941.

August 8
Hundreds of trucks stand idle in eight Midwestern states, including Illinois, when 25,000 drivers and freight handlers walk out in protest against the failure of 103 firms to grant a seven-cent hourly wage increase authorized by WLB.

August 12
The U. S. government seizes the trucking industry in the eight Midwestern states affected by a strike which began on August 8. ODT, assisted by the Army, will operate the truck lines.

Gustaf J. Johnson, Paxton, dies in Urbana at the age of seventy-two. He had served eight terms in the Illinois House of Representatives (1920-1936).

Explosion of a gasoline storage tank at Old Shawneetown causes a fire which takes the lives of twelve persons.

August 14
Truck drivers and freight handlers to the number of 25,000 return to work in the Middle West. The lines were seized by

the government two days ago when operators refused to enforce a WLB order.

August 15
Searing heat and a seventy-day drought cause numerous heat prostrations and serious water shortages in many parts of Illinois. Chicago has already had thirty-three days when the temperature reached ninety or more. The average summer has only eleven such days.

August 25
Charles C. Craig dies at his home in Galesburg, aged seventy-nine. He was a member of the Illinois House of Representatives from 1898 to 1902 and an Illinois Supreme Court justice from 1913 to 1918.

August 26
Herbert Spencer, composer of popular songs several decades ago and arranger for a number of famous singers, dies in St. Louis. He was a native of Bunker Hill, Illinois.

August 30
Recent rains throughout the state have improved some crops and pastures. Subnormal temperatures now prevail in most sections.

September 2
Clarence F. Buck dies at his home in Monmouth at the age of seventy-four. He was a member of the Illinois Senate, 1916-1924, and State Director of Agriculture, 1929-1930.

September 3
Tom Y. Chan, Chinese-American business and civic leader in Chicago's Chinatown for thirty-seven years, dies in Chicago.

September 6
Eunice Tietjens, writer and lecturer, dies in Chicago at the age of sixty. She was a member of the staff of *Poetry* almost continuously since 1913 and the author of numerous books of poetry and prose.

September 10
Leonard Crunelle, sculptor, dies in Chicago at the age of seventy-two. His figures of Abraham Lincoln stand in Dixon and Freeport.

September 16
A contract is signed in Springfield between members of the Hummer Manufacturing Company shop committee and the general manager of the plant. The U. S. Army has been operating the plant since May 21.

September 18
Clifford W. Barnes, educator and philanthropist, dies at his home in Lake Forest, aged seventy-nine. Active in the city's religious and educational activities for half a century, he was best known for his work with the Chicago Sunday Evening Club which he founded in 1907.

September 19
The Reverend John Thompson dies at the age of eighty-two. He was pastor of the First Methodist Church in Chicago (Chicago Temple) from 1920 until he retired in 1941.

September 20
A new system of "placement tests" is inaugurated at the University of Chicago. Eight hundred entering students will be classified entirely on the basis of general examinations without reference to previous credits or education.

The court appearance of the plaintiff in a divorce case is unnecessary, according to a Supreme Court decision announced today. Another opinion declares unconstitutional the 1941 state law for the regulation of professional engineering practice.

September 24
James E. Davis, member of the Illinois House of Representatives from 1914 to 1918 and 1936 to date, dies in Chicago. His home was in Galesburg.

September 28
A bill permitting women's reserves of the Navy, Coast Guard, and Marines to serve anywhere in the western hemisphere is signed by President Roosevelt.

September 29
Douglas C. McMurtrie, author of numerous books on typography and the history of printing, dies at his home in Evanston at the age of fifty-six. He was also an authority on the rehabilitation of crippled children and disabled soldiers.

October 3
The Women's Air Force Service Pilots (Wasps) will be inactivated on December 20, according to announcement made today.

October 4
The War Department announces that there were 300,382 prisoners in the United States on October 1—248,205 Germans, 51,034 Italians, and 1,143 Japanese.

October 9
Selective Service directs local draft boards to abolish the limited service classification of 1-A(L). Boards are also instructed to place men of thirty-eight and over in the 4-A classification.

October 10
The Navy announces that a "substantial proportion" of the 4,305 naval officers who have been called from retirement will gradually be released from service on the basis of age and physical condition.

October 11
James J. McVicker, member of the Illinois House of Representatives from 1928 to 1934, dies in Chicago. His home was in Chicago.

October 15
William W. Parish dies at his home in Kankakee. He was a member of the Illinois House of Representatives from 1902 to 1904.

October 16
The War Department announces that about 30,000 men are being returned to this country monthly on furlough.

October 18
Lew Wallace, former state representative (1938-1940) and former superintendent of the Illinois Security Hospital, Chester, dies at the age of fifty-seven. His home was in Mattoon.

October 23
Henry P. Crowell, Winnetka, dies at the age of eighty. He was the founder and honorary chairman of the Quaker Oats Company.

October 24
OPA announces that people in the East and Middle West who converted their heating equipment from oil to wood or coal may now have fuel oil if they change back their equipment.

October 27
Carl M. Werntz, president emeritus of the Chicago Academy of Fine Arts, dies in Mexico City. A native of Sterling, Mr. Werntz came to Chicago at the turn of the century and founded the academy in 1902.

November 2
Camp Ellis will cease to be a training camp and will be used as a war prison, according to announcement by Brigadier General Russell B. Reynolds, commander of the Sixth Service Command.

November 7
Citizens of Illinois elect the following state officers: U. S. Senator, Scott W. Lucas; Governor, Dwight H. Green; Lieutenant Governor, Hugh W. Cross; Secretary of State, Edward J. Barrett; State Treasurer, Conrad F. Becker; Auditor of Public Accounts, Arthur C. Lueder; Attorney General, George F. Barrett; Clerk of Supreme Court, Earle B. Searcy; Congressman-at-Large, Emily Taft Douglas; Trustees of the University of Illinois, Dr. Karl A. Meyer, Walter W. McLaughlin, and Kenney E. Williamson.

November 9
John Alexander dies in Aurora at the age of seventy-eight. He was the founder and chairman of the board of the Alexander Lumber Company, a chain of lumber yards in the Middle West.

November 10
All trains of the Chicago, North Shore & Milwaukee and the Chicago, Aurora & Elgin electric railroads are at a standstill as a strike of 600 operating employees on the two lines begins. The men seek an increase of nine cents an hour. Seventy-five thousand commuters from the North Shore and western suburbs are affected by the walkout.

November 18
Announcement is made that general recruiting of Spars will end on November 23.

November 20
The Sixth War Loan drive begins. The goal is $14,000,000,000.

November 22
The Illinois Supreme Court again declares unconstitutional the 1943 municipal airport authority act, because power is delegated to appointees of a city to impose taxes on persons residing outside the city. The 1943 firemen's pension act is

also pronounced unconstitutional. Among fifty-eight other decisions handed down is one declaring constitutional the "scavenger" act requiring county collectors in Illinois to sell annually to the highest bidder all property on which taxes are delinquent ten years or more.

November 24

A Senate Military Affairs Committee report reveals that the United States now has 11,859,000 men and women in the armed forces. More than 8,000,000 of these are in the Army and the remainder in the Navy and Marine Corps.

One guard is slain and four convicts are wounded, one fatally, in an attempted prison break at Stateville.

November 25

Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis, commissioner for the American and National leagues of professional baseball clubs since 1920, dies in Chicago at the age of seventy-eight. He was a federal judge in the Northern District of Illinois from 1905 until he resigned in 1922.

Albert Watson, president of the state board of law examiners from 1915 to 1935, dies at his home in Mt. Vernon at the age of eighty-seven. He was a judge of the Illinois Supreme Court for a few months in 1915.

November 26

The Army's new Vaughan General Hospital is dedicated at Hines. It is named for Victor C. Vaughan, scientist and a colonel in the Army Medical Corps, who died in 1929.

November 27

The seventeen-day walkout on the Chicago, North Shore & Milwaukee and the Chicago, Aurora & Elgin railroads is ended when 600 striking workers agree to accept a five-cent hourly wage increase as previously ordered by the emergency mediation board. A nine-cent increase had been asked.

November 28
Eugene Funk, founder and president of the Funk Brothers Seed Company at Bloomington, dies at the age of seventy-seven. He had received numerous honors for his agricultural achievements.

November 29
Randolph Boyd dies at his home in Galva. He was a member of the Illinois House of Representatives from 1912 to 1922 and the Illinois Senate from 1922 to 1930.

George J. Peak, nationally known breeder and exhibitor of show horses, dies at his home in Winchester at the age of eighty-four.

A spectacular blaze destroys the Rosenbaum Brothers' giant grain elevator on Chicago's far south side. At least 1,000,000 bushels of grain are lost.

November 30
There are now 334,618 prisoners of war in the 132 base camps and 334 branch camps in the United States. Those in Illinois are located at Camp Grant, Hampshire, Lanark, Camp Ellis, Hoopeston, Gibson City, Milford, and Eureka.

December 3
David Kinley, president of the University of Illinois from 1920 to 1930, dies in Urbana. Born in Dundee, Scotland, in 1861, he was brought to this country in 1872 and had been a member of the university faculty since 1893.

December 7
Relaxation of religious requirements at the University of Chicago is announced. The original provision that the president and two-thirds of the board of trustees should be Baptists has been gradually modified until now only one representative of the Baptist Theological Union is required on the board.

December 8
Major John L. Griffith, commissioner of athletics for the "Big Ten" since 1922, dies in Chicago. He served as a director of physical training for soldiers in World War I.

December 9
The new bridge across the Mississippi River at Jefferson Barracks is officially dedicated and opened to traffic. Constructed at a cost of $32,600,000, it connects the Illinois and Missouri highway systems.

December 11
Local draft boards are ordered to reclassify men in the twenty-six to thirty-seven age group who had occupational deferments but have now left their war jobs. They will be put in a class immediately available for service.

Heavy snow covers most of the state, with 10.2 inches in the Chicago area. Motorists are hampered by the ice-packed roads, airplane flights are canceled, and numerous trains are delayed.

December 14
Below-zero temperatures are reported in several places in central and northern Illinois.

December 15
Earle Benjamin Searcy, Springfield, begins a six-year term as clerk of the Illinois Supreme Court today. He is sworn in by Chief Justice Clyde E. Stone.

December 16
WPB orders all civilian production frozen indefinitely at present levels. The new order is designed to discourage movement of labor from war plants into peacetime activity.

December 17
Frederic McLaughlin, president of W. F. McLaughlin & Company, coffee importers, and owner and president of the

Chicago National Hockey League team (Blackhawks), dies at the age of sixty-seven. His home was in Lake Forest.

December 18

Chester F. Lay, University of Texas, is named president of Southern Illinois State Normal University to succeed Roscoe Pulliam who died last March.

The War Department announces that during January and February, 1945, it will ask Selective Service to provide 80,000 instead of 60,000 men each month.

December 19

The Sixth War Loan drive ends with a record-smashing total of $21,621,000,000 subscribed in the United States.

December 22

Warren C. Murray, marshal of the Illinois Supreme Court for thirty-five years, dies in Springfield.

December 23

War Mobilization Director James F. Byrnes orders all horse and dog racing tracks shut down, effective January 3, 1945, because of manpower and transportation shortages. He also directs that professional athletes come under closer scrutiny by draft officials.

December 26

The coldest weather of the season strikes Illinois, with sub-zero temperatures recorded over a wide area. A blanket of snow which fell on Christmas day covers much of the state.

December 28

The U. S. Army seizes Montgomery Ward & Company properties in seven cities of the nation, including Chicago. A strike of CIO workers had begun earlier in the day because of Ward's refusal to extend a union contract. This is the second Army seizure at Ward's Chicago plant this year, the first having occurred on April 26.

December 29
Federal Judge Philip L. Sullivan sets January 8 for a hearing on the government lawsuit seeking to confirm the legality of the presidential order under which the Army seized Montgomery Ward & Company facilities.

December 31
Ruth Hanna McCormick Simms, daughter of the late Sen. Marcus Hanna of Ohio, dies in Chicago at the age of sixty-four. A prominent member of the Republican Party, she was Republican national committeewoman from Illinois, 1924-1928, congressman-at-large, 1929-1931, and principal owner of the Rockford newspapers. Though a resident of Chicago for many years, she had recently lived near Albuquerque, New Mexico.

David H. McClugage, member of the Illinois House of Representatives, 1920-1934, dies in Peoria. He had been mayor of Peoria, 1937-1941, and postmaster since last March.

THE ILLINOIS BOOKSHELF*

A HISTORY OF ILLINOIS FROM ITS COMMENCEMENT AS A STATE IN 1818 TO 1847. By Thomas Ford. Chicago, S. C. Griggs & Co., 1854.

In the spring of 1847 Thomas Ford, Governor of Illinois from 1842 until 1846, wrote the preface of a book. Seven years later, when the book was published, it was called *A History of Illinois*, but the author had not intended it to have this titular distinction. "Every history," he explained, "is apt to contain much matter not only tiresome to read, but mischievous to be remembered; and it is often the unprofitable task of the antiquarian to busy himself in raking and carefully saving from oblivion some stupid or mischievous piece of knowledge, which the good sense of the cotemporary generation of mankind had made them forget."

Ford's real purpose was didactic. He had lived in Illinois for more than forty years; he had attended every session of the legislature from 1825 to 1847; and as lawyer, judge, and governor he had come to know almost every section of the state at first hand. He would describe events and people as he had observed them, but only so that he might have a thread on which to hang his "real, true, and genuine views, entertained as a man, not as a politician, concerning the practical operation of republican government and the machinery party, in the new States of the West."

These views are not what one might expect from a politician of the expansive, ebullient West in the fifth decade of the nineteenth century. That, one should remember, was the time when "Young America" was rampant—when it was clear to all that the destiny of the young United States was to sweep to the Pacific and beyond, and when the perfection of American democracy was taken for granted. Let a foreign traveler criticize any aspect of American life, and the bitter denunciation that greeted the publication of Dickens' *American Notes* and *Martin Chuzzlewit* was certain to be his reward. It took a Bancroft, writing the history of the new nation "as if it were the history of the kingdom of Heaven," to express the true temper of the times.

* Hereafter this department will be a feature of each issue of the *Journal*. In each number one or more books significant in the historical literature of Illinois will be discussed. As a rule, the department will deal with older publications, but the Editor gives notice that on occasion he may include a book that is just off the press.

And yet, in Illinois, where the constituents of Congressman Abraham Lincoln would soon turn against him because he declared the Mexican War to be unnecessary and unjust, a Democratic governor—an adherent of the party of Andrew Jackson—coolly perpetrated 447 pages of heresy.

Note, for example, his comment upon the transfer of the seat of government from Vandalia to Springfield—a project engineered by Sangamon County's famous "Long Nine" under Lincoln's leadership:

This delegation, from the beginning of the session, threw itself as a unit in support of, or opposition to, every local measure of interest, but never without a bargain for votes in return on the seat of government question. Most of the other counties were small, having but one representative, and many of them with but one for a whole district; and this gave Sangamon county a decided preponderance in the log-rolling system of those days. It is worthy of examination whether any just and equal legislation can ever be sustained where some of the counties are great and powerful and others feeble. But by such means "the long nine" rolled along like a snow-ball, gathering accessions of strength at every turn, until they swelled up a considerable party for Springfield, which party they managed to take almost as an unit in favor of the internal improvement system, in return for which the active supporters of that system were to vote for Springfield to be the seat of government. Thus it was made to cost the State about six millions of dollars to remove the seat of government from Vandalia to Springfield, half of which sum would have purchased all the real estate in that town at three prices; and thus by log-rolling on the canal measure, by multiplying railroads, by terminating three railroads at Alton, that Alton might become a great city in opposition to St. Louis, by distributing money to some of the counties, to be wasted by the county commissioners, and by giving the seat of government to Springfield, was the whole State bought up and bribed, to approve the most senseless and disastrous policy which ever crippled the energies of a growing country.

Were the people always right? Ford expressed his opinion in this comment on the popular reaction to the collapse of the Internal Improvement System of 1837:

The politician felt assured that if he supported a bad measure when it was popular, or opposed a good one when it was unpopular, he would never be called to account for it by the people. It was believed that the people never blame any one for misleading them; for it was thought that they had too good a conceit of themselves to suspect or admit that they could be misled. A misleader of the people, therefore, thought himself safe, if he could give present popularity to his measures. In fact it is true, that a public man will scarcely ever be forgiven for being right when the people are wrong. New contests, forever occurring, will make the people forget the cause of their resentment; but their resentment itself, or rather

a prejudice which it sinks into, will be remembered and felt when the cause of it is forgotten. It is the perfect knowledge of this fact by politicians which makes so many of them ready to prostitute their better judgments to catch the popular breeze; and so it will always be, until the people have the capacity and the will to look into their affairs more carefully.

Ford pointed out that many of those who had saddled the Internal Improvement System upon the state continued to enjoy popular favor. Here is his summary:

Of those who voted for the measure on the final passage, or by concurring with the senate, Messrs. Crain, Dougherty, Dawson, Edwards, Elkin, Happy, Hogan, Naper, and Minshall, have been since often elected or appointed to other offices, and are yet all of them popular men. Hogan was appointed Commissioner of the Board of Public Works, and run by his party for Congress; Moore was elected to the Senate, and to be Lieut. Governor, and afterwards Lieut.-Colonel in the Mexican war: Stone and Ralston were elected to be Circuit Judges—Ralston afterwards to be a Senator, and then run by his party for Congress; Linder has been Attorney-General and Member of the Legislature; Dement has been twice appointed Receiver of Public Moneys; Semple, to be Chargé des Affaires at New Grenada, Judge of the Supreme Court, and Senator in Congress; Shields, to be Auditor, Judge of the Supreme Court, Commissioner of the General Land office, and Brigadier-General in the Mexican war; French was elected Governor in August, 1846; Lincoln was several times elected to the Legislature, and finally to Congress; and Douglass, Smith, and McClernand have been three times elected to Congress, and Douglass to the United States Senate.

What would he have written had he foreseen that within thirteen years Stephen A. Douglas would twice be a candidate for the Presidency, and that Abraham Lincoln would win the highest office in the people's gift?

But one should not expect to find unrelieved cynicism in Ford's *History of Illinois*. He believed, and said, that all politicians were selfish; that their sole purpose was to stay in office; and that they were most to be distrusted when they talked loudest about the public welfare. He believed that more often than not they succeeded in their schemes of self-interest, for the people were easily duped. But for all that, Ford was a staunch democrat. Imperfect though it was, representative government, which rested ultimately on the popular will, was preferable to its only alternatives—anarchy or despotism.

Representative government was no worse than the people themselves. This, as he said, was "the principle which most of all I desire to illustrate in this history." Time and again he made the point, but per-

haps never more forcibly than in his comment on the constitutional convention of 1847:

Just now the public mind is in a great ferment concerning amendments of the constitution, as if amendments of the laws were a cure for every ill that flesh is heir to. Without undertaking to prove, I will venture to assert, that there may be a very bad government with very good laws. The laws may be amended, but if human nature is vicious and selfish, it will find a way to pervert the best of laws to the worst of purposes. I assert again, that if government is to be reformed, the work must begin with the people, who are, in a kind of way, the source of power. If it is once given up that the people can never be persuaded to vote wisely and judiciously, to sustain such of their servants as may be faithful, and put aside all selfish demagogues, who seek to live merely by the profits of office, then we may make up our minds to see government very imperfect in its practical operation, under any form of constitution whatever. The Utopians and Perfectionists then will have nothing to do but to lay aside their fine, sun-shiny theories, and live in the world the little time that is allotted to them, contented with the imperfections of government, as they are obliged to be with the imperfections of everything else.

And was that, necessarily, a foreboding prospect? Not in Ford's opinion. Where a people are unfit for liberty, no form of government can keep them free, but—and here speaks the democrat—"a people who are fit for and deserve liberty, cannot be enslaved."

Ford's political reflections, so pungently expressed, tempt one to slight the fact that his book is principally narrative. In spite of his unwillingness to describe it as such, it is a history of Illinois, and a superior one. In the early chapters the reader will find a fine eye-witness account of the people of the state as they lived and worked in the first two decades of the nineteenth century. There are character sketches, often amusingly acidulous, of early-day political leaders, and a sprinkling of good stories well told. The history of the state—the convention struggle of 1822-1824, the Black Hawk War, the rise of Jacksonianism—is sketched in considerable detail.

Then comes Ford's story of his own administration—his struggles with the Mormon problem, and his uphill but successful effort to transform a bankrupt commonwealth into a solvent one. Ford tried to write objectively and thought he had succeeded, but complete detachment cannot be expected of the leading actor in turbulent and fractious times. In his Introduction to the *History of Illinois*, James Shields felt constrained to warn readers that the author's opinions of men and measures were "very freely and unreservedly expressed," but he asked that they be regarded as "the opinions of a man of strong feelings, who took such an active part in many of the scenes which he represents, that it was im-

possible for him to describe them with ordinary moderation." Charles M. Thompson, who has made the most thorough study of Ford's administration,[1] joins in this criticism, and points out also that Ford lacked many essential records and was forced to rely on his memory, which was often faulty. Nevertheless, Dean Thompson concludes that "despite its errors both in judgment and in fact, it [Ford's *History*] stands as a remarkably accurate contemporaneous account of an important period of the state's history, and its excellence is attested by its continued use as a historical source since its publication in 1854. . . . Whatever its faults, it is a valuable contribution to Illinois history, and worthy the emulation of public men of every age."[2]

Doubtless two factors accounted for much of Ford's asperity. As Governor of Illinois, he was an accident. He had held public office for thirteen years prior to 1842, but always in positions removed from rough-and-tumble politics. From 1829 until 1835 he had served as state's attorney at Galena and Quincy. In the latter year he was elected circuit judge by the state legislature. After two years in that office he resigned to become judge of the Chicago municipal court. In 1839 he was again elected circuit judge, and in 1841 he went on the state Supreme Court.

There, in judicial quiet, he might have remained had not Adam W. Snyder, the Democratic nominee for Governor, died ten weeks before the election in 1842. The party leaders hastily substituted Ford—not, he himself said, "because I was a leader, for I was not, but because I was believed to have no more than a very ordinary share of ambition; because it was doubtful whether any of the leaders could be elected, and because it was thought I would stand more in need of support from leaders, than an actual leader would." The party was so well organized, and the political trend so strongly Democratic, that he won easily in the election.

Nevertheless, the party had entrusted the first position in the state government to one who had not fought his way up from the bottom, and thus had little control of party machinery. Conflicts were certain to arise. And when the man at the center of them was thin-skinned by nature, and not toughened by years of political experience, it is not surprising that many of his expressed judgments were harsher than the facts warranted.

The other factor was Ford's health. Four years after the end of his term as Governor he died of tuberculosis: the disease had subjected him to long periods of illness for several years prior to his death. One need not be a devotee of the more esoteric phases of what is called "psychol-

[1] Evarts Boutell Greene and Charles Manfred Thompson, eds., *Governors' Letter-Books 1840-1853* (*Illinois Historical Collections*, VII, Springfield, 1911), vii.

[2] *Ibid.*, cxii.

ogy" to recognize that his point of view might have been very differen had his health been normal.

Ford's end was tragic. His wife, worn out by nursing him, died few weeks before his own death in November, 1850. Since 1846 h had been able to earn little because of the state of his health, and at th time of his death he and his five children were dependent upon the charit of friends and neighbors. He hoped that the sale of his *History* would pro vide some support for his family, and to this end, while on his deathbed he placed the manuscript in the hands of James Shields. In spite of re peated efforts, Shields did not succeed in finding a publisher for it unti 1854.

Contrary to general opinion, Ford's *History of Illinois* is not a rar book. Although it has never been reprinted, it can always be obtaine from dealers in out-of-print books. It is well that that is the case, for i has enduring value as the product of a first-rate mind, and as a primar source for a critical period in Illinois history.

HISTORICAL NOTES

LITERARY VALUES IN THE 1850'S

From a tattered old order book of a Joliet dealer in drugs, books, and stationery we learn how much our literary tastes have improved (or degenerated?) in the course of ninety years. Under date of August 16, 1853, we find an order to W. W. Danenhower, Chicago, for the following:

24	copies	Harper's Magazine
24	"	Graham's Magazine
2	"	Appleton's Magazine
2	"	Putnam's Magazine
2	"	Knickerbocker Magazine
2	"	Popular Education Magazine
12	"	Godey's Lady's Book
3	"	N. Y. Musical Times

Not for readers of those days the low-browed detective story, nor slick paper periodicals with pin-up girls and frothy fiction. Nevertheless, they had sources of amusement, as is shown by orders of November and December, 1853, to Danenhower:

3	copies	Sixteen String Jack
6	"	Yankee Notions
6	"	Ruth
6	"	Grace Manning
4	"	Dick Clinton
3	"	Kit Carson or Life in California
3	"	Red Ranger or Pirate of Florida
3	"	Fanny Campbell or The Female Pirate
3	"	Marion's Brigade or Light Dragoons
3	"	Heroines of Tampico
3	"	Yankee Champion
3	"	Spanish Musketeer
2	"	Lawyer's Story
2	"	Yemassee. A Romance of Carolina
3	"	Paul Clifford
3	"	Dick Turpin
3	"	Claude Duval
3	"	Gentleman Jack
3	"	Jack Sheppard
2	"	Yankee Yarns
2	"	Stray Yank in Texas
2	"	Sam Slick, the Watch Maker

2 copies Sam Slick, the Attache
2 " Bandit of the Prairies
2 " Western Characters or Scenes of Border Life

For a higher intellectual stratum there were frequent orders for the *Dulcimer Music Book*, Methodist Hymn Books in both large and small sizes, Alcott's *Advice to Young Women*, and occasional orders for:

Prairie Flower
Reveries of a Bachelor
Dr. Valentine's Lectures
Knight of Gwynne
Pilgrim's Progress
Life of Franklin
Alcott's Gift Book for Young Men
Alcott's Gift Book for Young Ladies
Scott's Lady of the Lake
Moore's Lallha Rookh
Moore's Irish Melodies
Kriss Kringle

Good Saint Valentine was not unknown in those days. Here are sample orders:

W. W. Danenhower, Chicago 2/8/54

Please send tomorrow by express the undermentioned valentines:

1 gr. Val. to sell a 1
1 gr. Val. to sell a 2
½ gr. Val. to sell a 3
4 doz. envelopes to suit Val. same size as slips of paper enclosed #1
4 doz. envelopes to suit Val. same size as slips of paper enclosed #2
1 doz. small Valentine books

A. H. & C. Barley, Chicago 2/7/55

½ doz. Valentines to sell at 4/ ea
1 doz. Valentines to sell at 3/
1 doz. Valentines to sell at 2/
1 doz. Valentines to sell at 1/
4 doz. Valentines to sell at 6 d.

Kern & Lee, Chicago 1/25/56

Think I can dispose of $40.00 worth of Valentines and would be obliged if you would send about that amount as near as possible for list below. Select and send only such as you think most salable as I depend on you.

2 gro. Comics 16/ or 20/ as much assorted as possible
1 gro. Comics 8/ or 12/ as much assorted as possible
Want no sentimentals cheaper than below
6 doz. a 3/

4 doz. a 6/
4 doz. a 12/
2 doz. a 18/
2 doz. a 24/
½ doz. a 3/ea

Send envelopes to suit all large size and 4 doz. asstd. for smaller.

School books were an important part of any bookseller's business. Early-day book agents were experts at inducing school directors to change textbooks. The following list of orders for Will County for 1853 and 1854 may explain why the belief prevailed that school directors did not always change books for purely educational reasons:

10/7/53	24 Denman's Fourth Reader
10/11/53	12 Comstock's Philosophy
	24 Thompson's Practical Arithmetic
	12 Mitchell's Geography
	12 McGuffey's Fourth Reader
	12 Colburn's Mental Arithmetic
	36 Denman's First Reader
	12 Olney's Geography
	12 Goodrich's Pictorial History of the United States
	24 Ray's Arithmetic, Third Part
	12 Song Books for School Room
10/18	6 Day's Algebra
	12 Burritt's Geography of the Heavens
11/15	36 McGuffey's Small Primer
	24 McGuffey's Pictorial Primer
12/6	48 Eclectic Spellers
	12 Eclectic Fifth Reader
	24 Eclectic First Reader
	36 Student's Primer
	24 Student's Second Reader
	12 Student's Fifth Reader
	36 Sanders' Primary School Primer
	24 Sanders' Pictorial Primer
	36 Sanders' Speller
	12 Ray's Arithmetic, Second Part
	12 Student's Speaker
1/4/54	12 Adams' Arithmetic
	12 Sanders' First Reader
	12 Sanders' Fourth Reader
	12 Thompson's Mental Arithmetic
1/30	6 Bullions' Grammar
2/13	6 Ollendorff's Method of Speaking and Writing German
	4 Ollendorff's Method of Speaking and Writing French
	3 German-English Dictionary

CONTRIBUTED.

JOHN HAY'S SPRINGFIELD

In the spring of 1859 John Hay, who was graduated from Brown University the preceding year, became a law student in the office of his uncle, Milton Hay, in Springfield, Illinois. His first impressions seem not to have been favorable, for soon after his advent he wrote to a college friend: "I am stranded at last, like a weather-beaten hulk, on the dreary wastes of Springfield—a city combining the meanness of the North with the barbarism of the South." But if that was a valid opinion, and not the dramatizing to which Hay was addicted, it must have changed soon, for the two letters which follow were surely written by a man who was happy in his surroundings.

The letters were written to Charles L. Huntington, who had left Springfield in 1858 to become a midshipman in the United States Navy. The originals are owned by L. O. Schriver of Peoria, by whose permission they are printed here.

SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS
May 13, 1860

MY DEAR CHARLIE,

....The last week's work has taken me down so immensely that there is considerable doubt in my mind whether I am myself or the unsubstantial ghost of some rouè marquis of the Faubourg. Let me give you a little review. Monday night I wasted at a Dutch Ball. The stars were getting pale as I walked home, with my head full of dim ideas of *saufen und tanzen*. Tuesday night I was busy, writing. Wednesday night there was a party at Miss Condell's in the woods you know. Given to Miss Campbell of Galena. Thursday, Major Stuart gave a huge blow-out, for a niece of his from Kentucky, and an exact fac-simile was given at Dr. Wallace's on Saturday night, and on Friday night we were at Mrs. Ridgely's to meet Miss Holmes of Quincy. Is not there a week of unremitting toil for the interests of what calls itself society?

The logical effects result. My head feels like a pocket edition of the Niagara Falls. My ideas are dim and hazy. My mind, refusing the realities of the present, dwells on the fun of the past week, and stupidly conjectures as to the dissipation of the next. Like our army at Bladensburgh I "don't seem to take no interest."

This explosion of the gay world is something new. The winter was very quiet, but with the first moons of the springtide came parties and rumours of parties. What do you think of the Japanese Embassy? I suppose they will call on you before going back to their island-prison. If you see them give my regards to the artist of the expedition and request a lock of his hair. I hope they will come to Illinois. We could treat them very hospitably now. The Marshals have commenced the dog butchery & the rats are remarkably large and fine around the R. R. Depots.

Your friends are beginning to anticipate pleasurably your return. I envy you the delight of Homeward Bound. I used to enjoy it intensely

ang syne. As to the changes and novelties you will find, you no doubt :now them better than I. Your fair correspondents have kept you posted ıs to such matters of interest as we have been talking about lately. New Military, new burglars, and a new interest added to the Third Church Choir by the voice of Mademoiselle votre cousine Marie.

JOHN HAY

SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS
January 24, 1860

"FRIEND OF MY BETTER DAYS"

. . . . I read law on cloudy days and look out of the window on sunny)nes, wear my hair at the last stage of abbreviation, eschew rhymes late ıours and enthusiasm, don't black my boots, nor write for the Journal nd occasionally vary the monotony of the evenings with a Spiritual Cir-le or a Dutch Ball. My life is and shall be from this time forth and for-ver more (Amen!) very quiet & common-place. There is nothing ro-nantic about the career of a second rate lawyer in a country town. Yet go to my fate with Indifference, if not with Joy & when I get my first ase, I will steal a pun from Lamb & say "My first best cause least under-tood" & hand over the fee to my long-suffering washerwoman.

But for you, I hope better things. A Naval Officer's life has some oloring in it. It is a very pleasant phantom in my mind. Around it a housand vague associations are clustered, beautiful genial jolly and brave -Long Tom Coffin,—Lawrence & Paul Jones—Captain Cuttle—and the ıncient Mariner, Storms—sunshine on the sea—tropical islands—Fay-ways—Mermaids & long yarns—And dear little girls looking over the white capped waves for an expected sail, or sitting at windows, in the wilight, far inland, and singing

"My love, he is a saillior-boy only 19 years old."

Say, Charlie, cant you write me a letter?

Yours of course
JOHN HAY

Three days after the second of these two letters was written, Abra-ıam Lincoln was nominated as the Republican candidate for the Pres-dency. The event was to affect Hay's life as decisively as Lincoln's, for ıis selection as one of Lincoln's two secretaries was the first step in his)wn distinguished career.

PAUL M. ANGLE.

SPRINGFIELD, ILL.

A CRITICISM, TWO REPLIES, AND A REJOINDER

JACKSONVILLE, ILL.

Editor,
Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society.
SIR:

I note in the September *Journal* of the Society a review of *A History f Illinois Congregational and Christian Churches.*

The title of the book is misleading in that it is a history of only those Christian Connection churches now allied with the Congregationalists and not of the many Christian churches of the Stone-Campbell order, known also as the Disciples churches. The chapter in the book on the Christian denomination is by Matthew Spinka, who says in his Preface "an appalling dearth of source materials made an adequate treatment of the subject impossible." He also says: "That scattered Christian churches were to be found outside the existing conferences is apparent from the fact that one such church existed in Jacksonville." In fact, the Christian Church of Jacksonville is and always has been of the Stone-Campbell order, a Disciples church, and has never been a Christian Connection church.

The chapters on the history of Congregationalism in Illinois from the coming of its first missionaries to the organization of the General Congregational Association of Illinois in 1844 are by Frederick Kuhns. There it is stated that Lucien Farnam was a member of the Illinois Association (the Yale Band). Lucien Farn*h*am was never a member of that group. Mr. Kuhns asserts that Scott County was a missionary district in 1833, whereas that county was not erected until 1839; that there was a Congregational church in Winchester in 1838, whereas there has never been a Congregational church in Winchester; that among churches organized in 1834 were Summer Hill and Atlas (Rockport), whereas the Atlas (Rockport) church was organized at Atlas in 1834 and later moved to Summer Hill, and thus was only one church instead of two. According to Mr. Kuhns, "the Jacksonville church recently has credited its organization to the 'initiative (of) a group of laymen' " and "it is our bounden duty to examine the validity of this claim." The facts are that the Jacksonville church was organized by laymen with preachers standing by or opposing, as the writer himself shows later on in his story; that the Jacksonville church was not organized "under these circumstances—of fear, suspicion, misgivings, and prayerful hopes for the best" but that in the community all was faith in the future, that the founders of the church had financial strength, and that the church itself prospered from its founding both in additions to its membership and financially. Again, Mr. Kuhns states:

At some time in 1833 another Congregational church was formed at "The Mounds" in Adams County, but this church became Presbyterian shortly after its formation. The probable location of this church was in Sections 4 and 5, Township 1 South, Range 4 West of the Fourth P.M. (Lee Township) in present-day Brown County, near the Mound Station or Timewell, on the Wabash Railroad. Who formed it, or who belonged to it, is not known.

It is farfetched to include among Congregational churches organized in 1833 this Congregational (?) church—it must have been a mammoth one as it was in two sections of land—which became Presbyterian before it got dry, of which nothing is known, and the name of which does not appear in the records of the Illinois Congregational Association or in many early Congregational writings, or in local histories and Presbyterian works consulted.

As a member of the conference centennial committee, I repeatedly but unsuccessfully urged larger appropriations for research under the direction of competent editors for this history so that there might be available at least one comprehensive reliable history of a denomination in Illinois.

The errors cited relate only to the history of Congregationalism in west central Illinois with which I am somewhat familiar.

This history is not what it should be because it was prepared without sufficient research. The point of it all is that reliable history cannot be written without research.

Frank J. Heinl.

The Hartford Seminary Foundation
Hartford, Connecticut

Editor,
Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society.
Sir:

I regret that Mr. Heinl's remarks are of such a nature that they call for a reply. As for the title of the book, the phrase he objects to is a part of the official name of the Illinois Conference as well as of the denomination as a whole. His objection therefore should be addressed elsewhere. The remark about the Church in Jacksonville is by way of additional information, not a correction of an error. It was not pertinent to my task to discuss the present status of such Christian churches as did not go into the merger, or to enumerate such Christian churches as became Disciples churches.

Mr. Heinl is making a most serious and quite unfounded charge in stating that the history "was prepared without sufficient research." The only basis for the statement which he advances is that larger appropriations for the research were not available. I do not adjust my scholarship to the amount of appropriation available. Personally, I spent thirteen years in collecting the materials relative to the Illinois (and other) Congregational history before I was asked by the centennial committee to serve as editor of the book; then I worked at least three years in research

for and writing of the work. Whatever expenses were connected with this undertaking, were paid principally by the Chicago Theological Seminary. This institution even granted me a release from my teaching and other duties for a quarter, so that I could devote myself uninterruptedly to the work. The centennial committee was not asked for a cent in payment of the very thorough research I conducted, and the fact that I asked for no research appropriation does not prove that I did not conduct "sufficient research." What was not furnished by the Seminary, I paid for myself. As for Mr. Kuhns' contribution, I regard it as a model of the most painstaking and minute research. Indeed, he even found some errors in Mr. Heinl's own published writings. His research expenses were paid partly by the Illinois Conference (which never refused any financial demand I made for this purpose), and partly by Mr. Kuhns himself. His research resulted in quite a number of discoveries not to be found in any previous work. The only work which he did not consult, although both of us knew of its existence, is the manuscript prepared by Mr. Heinl himself. Mr. Kuhns personally interviewed Mr. Heinl and asked for the use of the manuscript. The permission was refused. I wrote to Mr. Heinl several times, asking for his co-operation, but he stipulated conditions which no self-respecting editor could accept: namely, that his contribution be inserted in the section where it belonged without integration with the work of others, and that no change whatever be made in it. Since those conditions were unacceptable, I was under the necessity of working without Mr. Heinl's valuable assistance, with dire results, as would appear from his review.

MATTHEW SPINKA.

6641 SOUTH INGLESIDE AVENUE
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Editor,
Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society.
SIR:

. . . . With reference to the specific points brought up in Mr. Heinl's letter, insofar as they touch on this writer's chapters, the following statements are submitted.[1] The page numbers are those of the volume, *A History of Illinois Congregational and Christian Churches*, and all works cited from may be found either in the Hammond Library of the Chicago Theological Seminary or in the University of Chicago Libraries.

As to the Rev. Lucien Farnam (p. 16), this contributor learned years

[1] Due to lack of space, the Editor has been forced to omit the first three pages of Mr. Kuhns's communication. In those pages Mr. Kuhns describes the extent of his research, and, in general, covers the same ground that Dr. Spinka covered in his letter.

ago that that individual invariably spelled his name "Farnam" until the mid-1840's, when he sometimes added an "h," making it "Farnham." Anyone interested in pressing this problem in philology to a conclusion is hereby invited to read the manuscript letters of Mr. Farnam among the papers of the American Home Missionary Society, whose appointee he was.

As to Farnam's membership in the "Illinois Association," the name taken by the group of men who came from Yale Divinity School to make Illinois their mission field (although Farnam was an Andover Seminary man), additional evidence would be welcome. President Rammelkamp did not include Farnam's name in the number listed as members of that group (Charles Henry Rammelkamp, *Illinois College: A Centennial History, 1829-1929* [New Haven, 1928], pp. 23-25). Nor has Farnam's name been given as a member of the "Illinois Association" in the historical publications, too numerous to mention individually, of the Princeton (Hampshire Colony) Congregational Church, whose pastor he was. But an argument from silence is not in itself the proof of something. However, the Rev. Joseph E. Roy, who was a close personal associate of Mr. Farnam in the Illinois home missionary work, and who doubtless knew whether he had belonged to the "Illinois Association," has stated, not once, but four times, that Farnam was a member of that association. See Joseph E. Roy, "A Half Century of Home Missions in Illinois.—1876," *Church Historical Documents*, No. 17, pp. 8-11; Roy, "Congregationalism in the Northwest," in Albert E. Dunning, *Congregationalists in America*, etc. (Boston, 1894), p. 430; Roy, "Fifty Years of Home Missions," *In Commemoration—Fiftieth Anniversary of the Organization of the General Congregational Association of Illinois* (Ottawa, 1894), p. 17; Roy, "History of Congregationalism in Illinois," *Illinois Society of Church History (Congregational) Papers* (Chicago, 1895), pp. 28, 30. Furthermore, the fact that Farnam was regarded as belonging to the "Yale Band" has been stated by Carrie Prudence Kofoid, "Puritan Influences in the Formative Years of Illinois History," *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the Year 1905 (Publication No. 10 of the Illinois State Historical Library* [Springfield, 1906]), 261-338. The citations are from pages 281, 283. Furthermore, Farnam has been so regarded by Colin B. Goodykoontz, *Home Missions on the American Frontier* (Caldwell, Idaho, 1939), p. 197. Furthermore, Farnam's membership in the "Yale Band" has been accepted by William Warren Sweet, *Religion on the American Frontier, III: The Congregationalists* (Chicago, 1939), p. 26. If Mr. Heinl concludes that Mr. Farnam was not a member of the "Illinois Association," it is obligatory upon him to cite the source on which he has based his conclusion.

In treating (p. 14) of the degree of home missionary extension which had been reached by 1833, this contributor only meant to convey the fact that missionary districts had been established in the area embraced in the present-day counties of Morgan, Scott, Greene, and Sangamon. It is correct that Scott County was not established as a separate unit until 1839 (John Moses, *Illinois Historical and Statistical*, etc. [Chicago, 1892], Vol. II, p. 1139). When this contributor made the map for his personal study of the question of the home missionary extension, he was draughting over one that was published in 1942. Hence the use of the name, Scott County. A missionary district had been established by 1833 in what is now Scott County, Illinois (*American Home Missionary Society Annual Report, 1834* [New York, 1834], *passim*).

Relative to the Congregational church at Winchester (and with it was then yoked the half New School and half Old School Presbyterian church in Manchester), under the leadership, in 1838, of the Rev. Andrew L. Pennoyer, until lately a licentiate of the Presbytery of Cincinnati, it is freely conceded that in this instance (p. 351), as in many others, the element of the human judgment had its role to play, especially if a statement was to be made concerning the home missionary field here in question. While Pennoyer's correspondence contains references to the movements of conflict which were then heaving among the Presbyterians, this pastor never did state exactly what kind of a church it was that he was serving at Winchester (Andrew L. Pennoyer to Henry Little, Manchester, Morgan Co., Ill., April, 1838; Pennoyer to Milton Badger, Manchester, July 3, and October 5, 1838; same to same, Griggsville, Ill., December 31, 1838). However that may be, both the Winchester church and its minister (Pennoyer) were members of the Congregational Association of Illinois (MS "Minutes of the Congregational Association of Illinois, 1834-1858," Vol. I). Pennoyer was present as the Winchester church representative for the third annual meeting of that body, held at Griggsville, November 1, 1838 (*ibid.*). Cf. *The Constitution and Regulations of the Congregational Association of Illinois, 1839* (Bartlett and Sullivan, printers, n.p., n.d.). Cf. also, Sweet, *op. cit.*, p. 200. Even if this church was a union church, as one source indicates that it may have been, it would not be for that reason to stretch a point to call it a Congregational church, when the affiliation with the Congregational Association of Illinois is fully considered.

As to the Congregational church or churches in the vicinity of Atlas, Illinois (p. 350), it must be stated that conflicting but not wholly irreconcilable accounts of their founding have come down to us all the way from the original records. Thus, it would be a matter for some surprise if historians should have reached a full agreement as to the interpretation.

Following a "protracted meeting," held by the Rev. Asa Turner, Warren Nichols, and others, in the autumn of 1834, the church at Atlas, consisting of six (or seven) members, was organized. The church at Summer Hill, however, has come to be thought of as "the outgrowth" of the Atlas church. For a time the meetings of the Atlas church were held elsewhere, and the newly appointed pastor, the Rev. Warren Nichols, an appointee of the American Home Missionary Society, in describing his labors to Secretary Absalom Peters, mentioned his efforts to establish additional Sabbath schools in a wide strip of country bordering upon Atlas settlement. (Nichols to Peters, Atlas, Ill., February 25, June 8, and August 1–October 1, 1835). The fact that Nichols was for the time being unsuccessful in his efforts to plant more Sabbath schools than he did, does not preclude the fact that he ministered to a flock that was holding its meetings in different localities, and that in all probability had experienced a division of its strength into separate congregations. Some of these facts are testified to by the Rev. William Carter, who preached on occasion for the people in the Atlas or Rockport and Summer Hill churches; others are mentioned by the Rev. S. Hopkins Emery, later to be an officer of the General Congregational Association of Illinois. See *A Memorial of the Congregational Ministers and Churches of the Illinois Association, on completing a quarter of a century of its history; consisting of a Commemorative Discourse, by Rev. William Carter, of Pittsfield, an original member, delivered at Quincy, October 26, 1860, and an Historical Appendix, compiled by Rev. S. Hopkins Emery* (Quincy, 1863), pp. 9, 34-35. With these statements may be compared the views (that there was but the one church) expressed in the *History of Pike County, Illinois*, etc. (Chicago: Charles C. Chapman & Co., 1880), pp. 782-783.

But this contributor had furthermore familiarized himself with the facts contained in the letter written by Mrs. Eliza Anderson to the Rev. Moses Smith (Summer Hill, Ill., August 27, 1894); also with the "History of the Summer Hill Congregational Church," etc., prepared in 1916 by Fannie E. Fortune, the church clerk. Both documents here cited are on file in the Hammond Library. It was only after the perusal of all these sources that this contributor prepared his table (p. 350) and his map (p. 64) showing the two churches at Atlas (Rockport) and Summer Hill.

With reference to the organization in the year 1833 of the "Independent Church of Jacksonville," the author of Chapter Two of the volume here considered was obligated to examine into the validity of all the claims made concerning it, not less, but more, than in the case of claims for the origin in this period of other Illinois Congregational churches, precisely because the organization of the "Independent Church

of Jacksonville" did not take place without a controversy.

If "in the community all was faith in the future," as Mr. Heinl now claims, it is obligatory upon him to quote from the writings of those who were instrumental in leading the secession movement which resulted in the split of the Presbyterian church and the subsequent formation of the "Independent" church. It is also obligatory upon him to quote from the writings of those who were opposed to that secession. If additional documentary evidence is extant, and if Mr. Heinl possesses it, it is obligatory upon him to produce it. This contributor will be the first to welcome an opportunity to give it his unbiassed study.

As for the Congregational church at "The Mounds" in Adams County, it was formed at some time in the autumn of 1833, according to the testimony of the appointee of the American Home Missionary Society who was stationed at Rushville (p. 41), which reads as follows:

> I aided also a Congregational church which had been formed last fall at The Mounds in Adams County in changing its form of government to Presbyterian, and ordained two elders. This change was thought by the members of church to be expedient and I assisted them, by request, in making it. (Rev. Cyrus L. Watson to Absalom Peters, Rushville, Ill., August 20, 1834).

This source is given in the book (p. 336).

Mr. Watson's letters contain no further details relative to the church at "The Mounds," although they are crammed with significant facts in the denominational development in this region. For the fact that Mr. Watson recorded the existence of a Congregational church in Adams County in 1833 which at some future date has disappeared from the number in the Congregational fellowship, what is this contributor to do but offer his hearty thanks? He regarded it as his duty to report the existence of all the Congregational churches which were organized in Illinois insofar as the unimpeachable sources make reference to them. What Mr. Heinl calls "farfetched" was, despite his criticism, a full-fledged Congregational church. No historian has a right to disregard it. If more light can be shed upon its history, so much the better.

As to the probable location of this church at "The Mounds," this writer was shut down to two alternatives in making a statement. A site in Beverly township, in Adams County (Township 3 South, Range 5 West of the Fourth Principal Meridian), where there is an elevation of 849 feet above sea level, did not seem to him, all things considered, to be the likely place. The other alternative was at a location in Lee township, in present-day Brown County, either in the Southwest half of Section 4 or in the Southeast half of Section 5, in Township 1 South, Range 4 West of the

Fourth P. M. In deciding for this location, this contributor only did so after making a careful investigation of numerous county histories, the enlarged county highway maps, and the U. S. Geographical Survey maps of the State of Illinois, the Mount Sterling Quadrangle, as published in 1929 by the Department of the Interior. All these maps, in addition to many other contemporary maps of Illinois, were made available to him by the Curator of the Geography department of the University of Chicago, who also gave assistance in reading and interpreting the same.

FREDERICK KUHNS.

JACKSONVILLE, ILL.

Editor,
Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society.

SIR:

I am in receipt of copies of the communications of the Reverends Spinka and Kuhns anent my letter to you of Oct. 20, 1944. I will not take space to present in detail evidence of all the errors I cited in my letter. However, I will refer to two of them. As to Lucien Farn*h*am, who according to the Reverend Kuhns "invariably spelled his name Farnam until the mid-1840's, Amherst College advises: "Lucien Farn*h*am, A.B. 1827 and M.S. 1830." Dean Weigle of the Yale Divinity School does not include the name of Lucien Farnham in his list of members of the Illinois Association, known in the west as the Yale Band. As to the alleged church at Winchester, the Reverend A. L. Pennoyer preached occasionally in Winchester. In 1838 he was minister of the Congregational church in Westchester, Iowa. In that year he attended the meeting of the Illinois Association of Congregational Churches, and in it represented his church. Clearly the scribe listed the Winchester church instead of the Westchester church as represented. I am somewhat familiar with the work of some of the early writers quoted by one of the reverends. Some of them were preachers and not history-minded, were not researchers, and cannot always be relied on. Some later writers adopted some of their errors.

One of the reverends writes: "If 'in the community all was faith in the future,' as Mr. Heinl now claims, it is obligatory upon him to quote," etc. Everyone well versed in Illinois history knows that Jacksonville in 1833 had all faith in the future. There were controversies in local churches, some of which entered in a minor way into the organization of the Congregational church, but they did not affect the town's faith in the future.

True, I have a manuscript history of the Congregational Church of Jacksonville. When I learned the plan of the proposed history, I held on

to it. The book does not contain the history of any Congregational church, historical or otherwise, in Illinois, unless it be that of the immense (located in two sections of land) phantom, nameless church said to have been located in the present Brown County at "The Mounds" which died aborning. I could call attention to more errors in the book and cite this, that in the index to the book, references to the Congregational Church of Jacksonville are listed under "Jacksonville, First Congregational Church of." There is not now and never has been a First Congregational Church in Jacksonville. The Congregational Church of Jacksonville is the only Congregational church in the town and is and has been known since the mid-1830's as the Congregational Church of Jacksonville. It has been known locally as the Yankee Church, the Abolition Church, the Atheist Church, the Nigger Church, the Infidel Church, the Pilgrim Church, and the Church of the Yale Band. I await proof that the correct name of the Congregational Church of Jacksonville is the First Congregational Church of Jacksonville.

FRANK J. HEINL.

THE ILLINOIS SCRAPBOOK

MARRIAGE PROPOSAL, OLD STYLE

[Nov. 20, 1859]

Miss Mary ———

Without the slighest [sic] indication from you that the subject matter of this note will meet with any favour, I nevertheless submit it to your attention. I confess to some misgivings as to whether I ought in such utter ignorance of the temper of your mind towards me thus to address you. If you were to upbraid me with presumption and ask what you had done or said to authorize it, I should in justice to you, answer—nothing. For although I often and agreeably recur to our associations, yet truth obliges me to own reluctantly to myself, that beyond the decorous and civil treatment which the acknowledged rules of politeness required at your hands, you have manifested neither by word nor act the least partiality for me.

It has occurred to me nevertheless that if you are the true hearted and generous Girl I have believed you to be, you cannot respect me the less for this step, and that if I am mistaken in this estimate of your character, your favorable or unfavorable regard, ought alike to be indifferent to me:

In the diplomacy of Nations wise statesmen now agree, that that is best, which is frank and honest, which plainly avows its true object, and attempts no concealment; and in matters of highest import to individuals it seems to me the same principle should govern.

I hold that justice and a proper deference to your sex alike require that where a man from his favorable regard purposes a serious object or end by his attentions to one of you, he should at once avow that intention. Such an avowal Miss Mary I distinctly make to you.

To a Girl of sense I know that words of mere flattery are not only idle but offensive, yet I cannot believe that it is matter of indifference to any, whether the qualities of which they are consciously possessed are appreciated by others or not?

If I were to record here the impression I have of your character your good taste would revolt at its seeming extravagance, and I should fear that its expression would receive the contempt which a woman of sense

involuntarily bestows upon silly flattery. Suffer me to say however that no high ideal that my fancy has indulged of excellence in all that makes woman desirable and entitles her to permanent regard with men, transcends what I soberly believe to be personated in you. If there is apparent extravagance in this, pardon and excuse it, for its honesty.

I have to thank you, Miss Mary for many pleasant interviews rendered agreeable and happy to me, by your presence and conversation—the recollection of which may hereafter be sad to me, but to which, in no event shall I ever recur with bitterness. I trust that the recurrence of this pleasure may not be denied me as the penalty for this frank avowal of my sentiments towards you.

I pray you Miss Mary think kindly of this. I do not claim to be worthy of you and yet I am not wholly unworthy. My life has been saddened with some deep misfortunes, but with no dishonour; and "in all that may become a man" I hold myself the equal of any. If you are in doubt or hesitate I ask in the parlance of our profession "for leave and time to plead."

I will not presume to dictate to you the time or mode of answering this, or whether you shall formally answer it, at all. The object of this note was mainly to apprise you fully of my sentiments, and having thus possessed you with them, I shall when you shall have had time to consider of the matter, respectfully ask an answer.

Yours

M. ————

MS, ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL LIBRARY.

"SHOW-DAY"

"Show-Day" was an institution twenty years ago. The dead walls and the bar-room walls had been plastered, for weeks preceding, with pictures of all sorts of impossible feats. Animals unheard of in natural history were to be there in abundance. Two clowns, the wittiest that ever were known, had been engaged at an unheard-of expense, expressly for this "great combination show." What excitement these bills produced. On Saturday crowds would stand before them, commenting on the wonders that were to be exhibited.

"Show-day" here at last. By the first gray streak of early dawn the boys are wide awake, and have gone down to the Lewistown Bridge, to see the show come in. They are small boys at first who wait about the bridge; but by seven or eight o'clock older boys begin to arrive, and by nine o'clock a few gray hairs are sprinkled among the waiting crowd. A

few adventurous spirits, not content with waiting at the bridge, have disappeared an hour ago over the hill toward Shepley's, and now their shouts are heard, as they discern in the distance—away out toward Captain Slosson's—the pioneer teams of the coming show. There is a rush now; across the bottom, up the hill, splash, splash, through the mud they go, until the first wagon is reached, and then—but pshaw, it's only a baggage-wagon at last! And now they pause and wait, as one after another of the long train of wagons pass, and all are anxious—they want to see the band-wagon, the actors, the elephants, and camels. The procession stops in the Big Creek bottom, and the forty-horse team is harnessed to the band-wagon, whose body resembles, in a distant and uncertain kind of way, the mythical dragon which no body ever saw. How the boys wonder, and how wisely the gray heads talk of "them ar leaders, and that ar off wheel-hoss." The band are mounted now, and the procession moves. How the excitement boils and bubbles, until every fellow wishes it was always show-day. The band has crossed the bridge, but the elephant refuses to trust his weight upon the frail structure. How anxious the boys grow! Will they ever get him across? What a whopper he is. But the dilemma is overcome; he has forded the narrow stream, and the great tracks in the soft mud will be visited for a month after the show is gone. As the procession reaches the hill by "Bishop" Clark's, there are accessions to the crowd; men, women and children gather and fall into line upon both sides of the road. When the square is reached, it would not be exaggeration to say that there were more people on the square than there was population in the town. As the band moves around the square and through the principal streets, there is a shouting, yelling procession that reminds one of pandemonium let loose.

And now Grandmother Bridgman has set up her cake-stand, and quarter-sections of gingerbread begin to appear under the arms of hungry fellows from the country, who have started this morning before breakfast, so that no part of the procession or show might be lost. And now comes Captain Haackee with a barrel of cider, and more gingerbread, which he is selling to hungry and thirsty customers. The peripatetic candy-stand has also been opened. The vender of razor-straps and patent soap has opened his mouth, and gathered an admiring crowd. The regular circus bummers, who follow in its train, are named legion, and all are low gamblers, and will have had victims when the tents are folded and show-day is over. Here comes good old Deacon Jones, to hear the music; and there is—but why single out, when, with one excuse or another, all will be sure to see the show; at least stand outside where they can listen to the clown and the music.

He who was not a boy in a western village on show-day, at least once in his life, knows but little of life, and is to be sincerely pitied for his ignorance. Old men, young men, old women, young women, and children, all are here, and all will see the show. They have been picking blackberries and selling, saving eggs and churning rolls of yellow butter for the occasion. I well recollect when I visited my first show. I had earned the money by cutting "jimpson weeds" around the old church in the public square, and I was richer then—prouder of my success—than I have ever been since, or ever expect to be.

ALONZO M. SWAN, *Canton: Its Pioneers and History* (1871), 74-75.

PEN PORTRAIT OF A GOVERNOR

Dissimulating and truckling in politics as he was, and ever watchful to float with the strongest currents of public opinion, Gov. Reynolds had views of his own—not proclaimed abroad on all occasions, however—on certain questions that he held to all his life with unwavering firmness. Of them, one, probably learned from his father, was hatred of England and the English government. Another was the inflexible belief that African slavery was morally and legally right. With equal sincerity he rejected the theories and tenets of Christianity with all that pertains to the supernatural. In early life the infidelity of Tom Paine and later, the cultured agnosticism of Ingersoll, received his zealous approval. In the evening of his life, when convinced that he had outlived all probabilities of further political preferment, and was financially independent, he threw off the self-imposed restraints of his long active career and gave free scope to his candid sentiments. His habitual use of profane and vulgar language through life became more pronounced and unguarded. With advancing age he grew more arrogant in his pretensions to "classic" learning and literary attainments; more bold and outspoken in defense of the institution of slavery, and more extreme in his denunciation of miraculous theology. He was a slaveholder until slavery was extinguished in Illinois by adoption of the constitution of 1847, and—very strangely—that fact was never urged by his opponents as an objection to his election in any of his numerous campaigns for office. After slavery was finally abolished in the State he employed none but negro servants, to whom he was very kind, as he had always been to his slaves. In his retirement and old age the Governor, followed by a little colored boy whom he called Veto, were familiar figures about the streets of Belleville. Veto and his mother were

formerly the Governor's slaves, and chose to remain with him after their emancipation. . . .

Gov. Reynolds lived to see the close of the terrible conflict between the northern and southern states, the final and complete abolition of slavery, and the triumph of the Union cause. He felt that result to be a personal defeat and humiliation, but was still defiant.

The ravages of time had at length undermined his iron constitution; and when, eight or ten days after the assassination of President Lincoln, he was stricken down with pneumonia, his exhausted vitality was too feeble to resist its attack. He realized that he had reached the terminus of his long and remarkable course, but felt not the slightest trepidation; nor experienced the least wavering of his materialistic belief that "Death ends all."

A minister of the gospel impelled by a sense of duty came to the dying man's bedside, and told him of the error of his views, and of the glorious consolations of the true faith, and transcendent bliss of Christian hopes. The reverend gentleman paused to note the effect of his eloquent exhortation, and then the Governor turned, with a look of withering contempt, and gasped, "The hell you say."

Gov. Reynolds died, at his home in Belleville, on the 8th of May, 1865, aged 77 years, 2 months and 10 days.

JOHN F. SNYDER, *Adam W. Snyder, and His Period in Illinois History*, 317-18, 328.

RUM AND THE INDIANS

PEORIA 9th April 1824

DEAR SIR:

It was with much difficulty that I collected the Chiefs and some of the Braves of the Potawatimie Indians together at this place some days ago, when I made them acquainted with my mission. The Potawatimies appeared well satisfied with my proposial as mediator between them and the Delawars and accordingly Mette set out on the 5th Instant to go to the Delawars and I cannot say how long he may be absent, but I know he will make all diligence, and when the Delawars arrive here the business will be easily settled as the Potawatimies are very anxious to accomodate matters. It is truly shameful that such quantities of whisky are sold and traded with the Indians on this River, almost every settlers house is a whisky shop, and will buy from the Indians the most trifling articles for whisky, and when spoken to on the subject, the whisky seller will say, prove it and the Justice will fine me. I have not heard of but one trader

who has sold any whisky to Indians and when I spoke to him about it h
told me I might commence an action against him as soon as I pleased, an
if I could prove that he sold whisky to any Indians the Law would punis
him for so doing. The information of whisky selling to Indians I procure
from the Indians themselves, therefore no proof can be had. It appears t
me, that nearly all the settlers from the mouth of this River up to thi
place sells whisky to Indians. Some miles up Spoon River there is a di
tillery, and am told whisky is retailed there to Indians in any quantity
For particulars I refer you to Mr. DeChamps the Bearer of this, who is a
excellent man and can be depended on—As soon as the Delawars arrive
I will not be detained here more than a day or two, after which I sha
descend to St. Louis with all posible despatch.

Very Respectfully I Remain
Your Obdt. Servt
THOMAS FORSYT

GENERAL WILLIAM CLARK
SUPDT. IN. AFFS
ST. LOUIS

MS, COLLECTION OF EVERETT D. GRAFF, WINNETKA, ILL.

AN INNOCENT IN POLITICS

Whilst upon this subject of my first election, now near forty-si
years ago, seeing that the statute of limitations has run out long ago,
may as well tell all I know about it. I was made a candidate and elect
by my friends, and did nothing in the premises, except to do as advise
to do by those who knew more than I did. A few days before the electio
I was told to go to the grocery of a certain man, always my friend, b
now dead and to inform him that I was a candidate, &c., and that I kne
of some friends who occasionally came into his grocery—bye the bye, I
had two of them—and I wanted him to give them something to drin
after they had voted, of course, to mark it all down, and I could con
around to the captain's office in a day or two and settle. At the two place
as I now recollect, there was a hundred marks against me, at five cen
each. I could stand that, only five dollars. After the polls closed, howeve
and it was found that I was elected by some thirty votes, in passing
my place of boarding past the principal grocery, they saw and hauled n
in, and with great handshaking and shoulder slapping, congratulated m
Of course I again set up beer all around, and when about starting for t
door, an old friend, now dead, said, "Asbury, I want some Rhine win

'm tired of beer." To this I, of course, replied, "Let him have whatever
ıe wants." Being elected, I felt rich with fifteen dollars in my pocket—
ıll I had in the world; went home happy. The next day I called to settle,
ınd was informed that my friends had made a merry night of it. and the
grocery keeper said that I had said let them have what they want, and
hey had taken me at my word, drinking and carousing all night, singing
:nd shouting for Asbury and Van Buren. As this narrative progressed, I
)egan to feel scared, but timidly asked how much. In response the grocery
keeper said that the bill was only forty-two dollars; that they took all
ıis Rhine wine—thirty bottles, at one dollar a bottle—and so my poor
ifteen dollars did not meet the demand, but borrowing enough money
at once paid the bill. This was the first and last time I treated at an elec-
ion, and now I don't believe it gained me a single vote. In Quincy, in
836, the sum of even forty-two dollars was a large amount to a young
greenhorn fellow without any money.

HENRY ASBURY, *Reminiscences of Quincy, Illinois* (1882), 84.

NEWS AND COMMENT

In the year 1820 the family of Daniel Harmon Brush, then eight years of age, migrated from New York state to Greene County, Illinois. Within a few months the father died, leaving his widow and several children, Daniel among them, to work out their own salvation. The boy was sent to live with an older sister and her husband at Brownsville, then the county seat of Jackson County. He was industrious and resourceful, and made himself useful as a clerk and farm hand.

Growing up, young Brush struck out for himself. He became a merchant and also a county officer. Milling seemed to hold possibilities, so he set up several sawmills. When the Illinois Central Railroad was being constructed he foresaw that towns would spring up along the line, so he became one of the founders of Carbondale and gave the town its name. Through hard work and good judgment he became wealthy, and a strong sense of social responsibility led him to take a prominent part in civic enterprises. When war came he volunteered, served with honor, and became a brigadier general by brevet. After the war he began the practice of law, for which he had trained himself. Until his death in 1890, he was Carbondale's leading citizen.

In his old age Daniel Harmon Brush undertook to write his memoirs and had carried the story to the year 1861 at the time of his death. He wrote without grace, and burdened his narrative with detail, but he succeeded in creating a fine record of a typical, successful American of the nineteenth century.

When officials of the R. R. Donnelley & Sons Company, publishers of that admirable series, *The Lakeside Classics*, saw the Brush manuscript they decided to depart from their practice of reprinting more or less well known books. Accordingly, *Growing Up with Southern Illinois, 1820 to 1861 from the Memoirs of Daniel Harmon Brush*, the Lakeside Classic for 1944, is the first original production in the series.

The original manuscript is long and prolix, so the Editor, Milo M. Quaife, selected for publication only those parts most likely to interest the general reader. But the complete manuscript, through the generosity of the publishers, is now in the collection of the Illinois State Historical Library, where it may be freely consulted by any qualified student. The publishers hope that the original document will be the basis of further studies in nineteenth century Illinois history.

In 1927 the late Douglas C. McMurtrie brought out, under the title, *The First Printers of Chicago*, a bibliography of Chicago imprints for the years 1836 to 1850. In 1931 he issued a supplement, and in 1934-1935 a new list which contained the original bibliography, the supplement, and eighty-five additional titles. A few months before his death in the fall of 1944 he made his final revision, now published under the title, *A Bibliography of Chicago Imprints, 1835-1850*.[1]

This volume lists, describes, and locates 232 books, pamphlets, and broadsides published in Chicago prior to 1851. Many of the titles can be of interest only to persons concerned with the history of printing; others would appear to be capable of making contributions to many phases of Chicago's history. The historian of education, for example, would certainly want to see the *Report of the Board of School Inspectors*, printed in 1838; the agricultural historian would be interested in George W. Holley's *Address Delivered Before the Union Agricultural Society, at Juliet, Illinois, July 3, 1840*. But without McMurtrie's *Bibliography*, neither would be likely to come across either pamphlet, for the former is to be found in only one library, and the latter in one private collection.

By this and the many other bibliographies which he produced, Douglas C. McMurtrie placed American scholars permanently in his debt.

According to Kunigunde Duncan and D. F. Nickols, the authors of *Mentor Graham: The Man Who Taught Lincoln*,[2] Abraham Lincoln owed much of his education and intellectual development to the schoolmaster of New Salem. On this assumption they present a detailed account of Graham's life—his boyhood and youth in the same section of Kentucky in which Lincoln lived, and his mature life in Illinois. When Lincoln comes on the scene in New Salem, the narrative encompasses him too. Graham and Lincoln are pictured as inseparable, the one drinking greedily from the depths of knowledge and inspiration offered by the other. With Lincoln's removal from New Salem in 1837 the close bond was broken, but the authors contend that Lincoln's affection for his friend was unminished, while Graham held Lincoln in almost religious veneration.

All this is plausible enough until one realizes that the evidence for it is family tradition, first recorded many years afterward. Even the authors seem to have certain misgivings. "It is a wonder," they admit, "that Lincoln, with a mind as retentive as his, forgot to include all this when, years later, he was importuned for the facts of his life."

[1] Wright Howes, 100 E. Chicago Ave., Chicago. $6.00. 200 copies.
[2] University of Chicago Press. $3.75.

Perhaps Lincoln's "forgetfulness" was not as remarkable as the authors consider it. Perhaps, over many years, the memories of Graham's kinsmen grew considerably beyond the bounds of fact. That, in the not-infallible judgment of the Editor, is what happened, with the result that what should have been a short article became a book of 240 pages.

Ask almost anyone to identify Frances Willard, and the answer will be: "President of the W.C.T.U."

Of course she was that, but Mary Earhart, in *Frances Willard: From Prayers to Politics*,[3] the first objective biography of her to be written, shows that she was much more than that. Early in life she attained prominence as an educator: she was president of Evanston College for Ladies, and the first dean of the Woman's College of Northwestern University. Then she entered the temperance movement, but it never monopolized her interest. In fact, Miss Earhart maintains that temperance was not even the chief objective of her program. She sought votes for women, and the general elevation of woman's status; she was interested in socialism, in the labor movement, and in political reform. She had a personality which only the word "magnetic" describes; she was an orator with few peers, and a prolific writer. Miss Earhart sums up her achievements in two sentences: "Frances Willard was the most glowing personality of the long list of notable women in the nineteenth century. She stood for more reforms than any other leader; she was interested in a wider program, sponsored more projects, and initiated more enterprises than any other woman of her day." It is not inappropriate that hers should be one of the two Illinois statues in Statuary Hall in the United States Capitol.

Miss Earhart maintains that the real Frances Willard has been lost in the legend purposely created by her successors in the Women's Christian Temperance Union. However that may be, the Frances Willard of Mary Earhart is a different person from the Frances Willard of popular conception—and a far more interesting one.

We seem to be in a period when history focuses geographically. Thus we have one series of books which tell the stories of American rivers and the regions through which they flow, another on American cities, and still another on the Great Lakes. And now comes a single

[3] University of Chicago Press. $3.75.

volume—*The Great Lakes*, by Harlan Hatcher[4]—which views the Great Lakes, and the Great Lakes region, as a unit.

Like all books of the genus, *The Great Lakes* is a combination of history and description. In it the reader will find the story of the great French explorers, an account of naval warfare on the lakes, a summary of lake commerce with the related history of sailing ships and steamers, and such other subjects as European immigration and the growth of the lake cities. He will also find much that he does not know, unless he is unusually well informed, about the vital part which the Great Lakes play in our continental economy. Past and present are smoothly blended into a readable volume of convenient length. There is a bibliography which anyone inspired to further reading will find useful.

Pulaski County celebrated its one hundredth anniversary in 1943. Before that date was reached it became apparent that because of the war there could be no elaborate celebration of the centennial. Instead, it was decided to publish a history of the county. Thus *Moyers' Brief History of Pulaski County*[5] came into existence.

The sponsors of the history aimed to produce a book that was brief, simple, and interesting. They had at their disposal the extensive and expert knowledge of W. N. Moyers, of Mound City. Moyers was not able to write while the book was in preparation, and died before it was published, but the publishers give him the major credit for the production. *Moyers' Brief History* covers the early history of the region that became Pulaski County, the county in wartime, the great flood of 1937, and the history of the cities and villages of the county. There are a number of illustrations.

Addresses delivered by Col. R. R. McCormick, editor and publisher of the *Chicago Tribune*, over WGN and the Mutual Broadcasting System between October 30, 1943, and April 22, 1944, have been collected and published by WGN. There are nineteen talks in all, of which twelve deal with historical subjects. These include accounts of Clark's capture of the Illinois Country, Lincoln's Gettysburg Address, and Lincoln's address before the Young Men's Lyceum in Springfield.

[4] Oxford University Press. $3.50.
[5] The *Pulaski Enterprise*, Mound City, Ill. $1.10.

The Southern Illinois National Bank of East St. Louis marked its seventy-fifth anniversary (1944) with the publication of a beautiful brochure entitled, *Weathering Many Storms for Seventy-five Years*. The brochure contains a succinct history of the bank, which was originally organized as the Workingmen's Banking Company, biographical sketches of past presidents and incumbent officers and directors, and a detailed chronological history of East St. Louis. Many illustrations are included.

The December, 1944, issue of *The Indiana Magazine of History* contains the first installment of the journal of Mrs. Lydia B. Bacon, the wife of an army officer stationed at Vincennes in the winter of 1811-1812. This installment includes a vivid picture of the Indiana town which has played so important a part in Illinois history, and a fine account of the Battle of Tippecanoe, in which Mrs. Bacon's husband participated. The Bacon journal will be completed in the March, 1945, number of the *Magazine*

"Mazzuchelli's Memorie," a short article by Jean Phyllis Black in the December, 1944, number of the State Historical Society of Iowa's *Palimpsest*, calls attention to the autobiography of Father Charles Mazzuchelli, the Catholic missionary who designed churches at Galena and other towns and cities in the upper Mississippi Valley. First published anonymously (in 1844) under the title, *Memorie Istoriche ed Edificanti d'un Missionario Apostolico*, the book was translated into English and issued in two volumes by W. F. Hall, Chicago, in 1915. It is a sober account of Mazzuchelli's labors and of the region in which he worked, and has definite value as a source book of Illinois history.

The November number of *Illinois Libraries*, the monthly publication of the Illinois State Library, contains an interesting article, by Icko Iben on marriage contracts found in the French records of Cahokia and Kaskaskia for the last third of the eighteenth century. The Cahokia records which were placed in the custody of the Archives Division of the Illinois State Library four years ago, include seventy marriage contracts deposited with the Clerk of Record in Cahokia for registration between 1763 and 1802. Mr. Iben, reference librarian of the Archives Division, has summarized the provisions of these contracts, and pointed out their significance as material for the historian and genealogist.

The Illinois Central Railroad recently turned over to the Newberry Library in Chicago all its corporate records from the date of its incorporation in 1851 until 1906. Consisting of six and one-half tons of material, these records contain the correspondence of the presidents, together with records of construction, colonization, operation, financial transactions, and other corporate affairs. After the material is catalogued it will be available to qualified research students. Those interested in the development of the Mississippi Valley, and of Illinois and Chicago in particular, will find it especially valuable.

Visitors to the Aurora Historical Museum will find the Blanford astronomical clock on display there. The nine-foot-high clock, completed by the late William Blanford in 1905, had stood in the Aurora Public Library since 1920. An eight-day clock, it has a calendar arranged for 10,000 years. The astronomical dial needs to be wound only once every sixty-eight years.

The Lawndale-Crawford Historical Association (Chicago) celebrated its eleventh birthday in September, 1944. Four hundred old settlers gathered at the Toman Branch Library to view special exhibits, exchange reminiscences, and hear a short talk by Larned E. Meacham, president. Refreshments and community singing completed the evening's entertainment.

The Annual Early Settlers' meeting sponsored by the West Side Historical Society (Chicago) on October 9 was divided into two parts. The first part of the program, dedicated to the early history of the region, was presided over by A. A. Marquart and Dennis Ryan. Hyde W. Perce, Bruce McNair, and the Rev. Laurence M. Barry were the speakers on this part of the program. The second half of the evening was a farewell to the founder and life president of the Society, Miss Pearl I. Field. Miss Field had just resigned her position as librarian of the Henry E. Legler Regional Branch Library and was moving to New Jersey. This part of the program was conducted by T. H. Golightly, president of the West Side Historical Society. Tributes were paid to Miss Field by Homer J. Buckley and Otto Eisenschiml, and she was presented with a beautifully printed and bound testimonial book.

A list of all men and women of West Garfield community who are

in the service is being compiled by the Society. A committee headed by Miss Clara Reaum is working on this project. Block captains in the OCD organization of the vicinity are also assisting in obtaining the names. When the list is more nearly complete, the names will be inscribed on an honor roll which will be placed in the West Side Room of the Legler Library.

The officers and directors of the Du Page County Historical Society have been holding a series of meetings in various parts of the county this winter. On each occasion the local groups have had an opportunity to hear and discuss pertinent chapters from the county history which is being prepared for publication by the Society.

The eighth annual dinner of the Englewood Historical Association was held on December 5, 1944, at the Englewood Y.M.C.A. Fred Henderson discussed the "Superhighway through Englewood and Other Plans," and short talks were given by Edward Damstra, Mrs. Robert J. Roulston, John Showel, and James F. McFarland. Announcements were made by Willis E. Tower, president, and community singing was led by Mrs. H. L. Ellsworth.

The Englewood organization is especially interested in sponsoring the study of the local community and the city in the elementary schools. Twelve junior historical association chapters have been active during the past year, and engraved certificates of award have been presented to the most deserving schools.

The "Story of Garrett Biblical Institute" was sketched by Dr. Horace G. Smith at the November, 1944, meeting of the Evanston Historical Society. The Institute, one of the largest theological training schools in the country, observed its ninetieth anniversary in 1944.

At the December meeting of the Society, Prof. James Taft Hatfield presented his tribute to Old Evanston—a feature repeated by popular request. In January, Paul M. Angle, Springfield, discussed "History through Romance: The Life and Writings of Randall Parrish."

The life of George Washington was discussed by Dr. James A. James at the organization's February meeting.

The Madison County Historical Society, which suspended activities when the war started, held a meeting at Edwardsville last November. Paul M. Angle, Springfield, spoke on the history of Illinois and the work of local historical societies. The second speaker was Chief Red Eagle, a Sioux Indian now living in Alton, who talked about the life of his tribe in Montana.

Plans were made for reorganizing the Society and holding meetings every six months. The following officers were elected: Mrs. Harry Meyer, president; Judge H. B. Eaton, first vice-president; the Rev. A. F. Ludwig, second vice-president; Caroline E. Wolf, secretary; Mrs. E. W. Ellis, treasurer; Mrs. Harry Meyer, N. G. Flagg, Judge H. B. Eaton, Judge Jesse R. Brown, Harvey Dorsey, E. W. Ellis, C. H. Dorris, H. P. S. Smith, and the Rev. A. F. Ludwig, directors.

The man for whom Macon County was named—Nathaniel Macon—was the subject of a talk by Daniel Gage at the December, 1944, meeting of the Macon County Historical Society.

When the Oak Park Historical Society held its fall meeting last October, J. C. Miller made a report on the recent annual meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society. Members of the Maywood Historical Society were invited to join the group on this occasion.

Miss Emily McCullough of Riggston won first place in the 1944 essay contest sponsored by the Morgan County Historical Society. Her subject was "Social and Economic Life in Scott County, Illinois, to 1860." Second place was won by Richard E. Fox, of Chapin, who wrote on "Our Woodland Reminders." Five other prizes went to the following persons: Mrs. Clara Owings Black, Jacksonville; Miss Elnora Sheldon, Crawfordsville, Ind.; Miss Virginia Chamberlain, Mt. Sterling; Miss Mabel Goltra, Jacksonville; and Mrs. Louise Dorr, Chandlerville.

Miss Sidney Baldwin spoke on "Peoria Authors, Past and Present" at the November, 1944, meeting of the Peoria Historical Society. The Society is working with the mayor of the city, the Peoria Association

of Commerce, and other civic organizations, in making plans to celebrate the centennial of city government in Peoria. In connection with this anniversary, which falls in 1945, it has been suggested that publication of a history of Peoria covering the last forty years would be one of the most worthwhile projects that might be undertaken. Though early histories have covered the period up to the beginning of the twentieth century adequately, the recent history of Peoria is still unrecorded. Gomer Bath, columnist for the *Peoria Morning Star*, discussed this proposal in the paper of December 20. He said:

No one could hope to make a profit on such a book. Therefore, financial backing from persons able to contribute or from the city would be necessary. The city might well appropriate a modest amount to pay a historian's salary at the public library and keep him on the job, permanently employed at that task.

Such a person, in addition to historical research and writing, could assemble and keep a perpetual inventory of all kinds of important information, as well as a chronological record of events, properly indexed as to names and places—a "Book of Peoria" somewhat like the annual *World Almanac*.

Commenting on this proposal, Ernest E. East, president of the Illinois State Historical Society, made the following remarks in a letter published in the same newspaper on December 27:

Published histories of Peoria contain no mention of the liquidation of the distilling and brewing interests of Peoria through prohibition, or the rebirth of those industries. Caterpillar Tractor Co., by name, and other new manufacturing interests are not mentioned. The story of Peoria's contribution to World War I remains to be published and the facts become more difficult to obtain as time passes. Scores of other significant developments never got into print in one volume.

Thus newspapers and the publications of public and private corporations provide the only sources of history in Peoria for more than three decades....

The statutes of Illinois authorize city and county governments to appropriate funds for publication of historical material. Revenue from sales probably would be small and a subsidy would be necessary to produce a comprehensive history of Peoria.

Rockford's first American-Swedish museum was dedicated on December 1, 1944. To celebrate the occasion, a Swedish Christmas festival and concert was held in the Zion Lutheran Church, with Elsa Soderstam and Edwin Thorn of Chicago appearing as soloists. Following the program, the museum—which is located in the Rowland Branch Library—was formally opened to the public.

The Southern Illinois Historical Society observed its fifth anniversary at a dinner meeting in Carbondale on November 17, 1944, with seventy-five people in attendance. John Herbert Hays, of Carbondale, read a paper on "Carbondale Amuses Itself, 1865-1900." Following the meeting, the group adjourned to the Main Building on the campus of Southern Illinois Normal University, where it inspected the library of Lincolniana and Americana recently presented to the University by Clint Clay Tilton of Danville. Richard L. Beyer, president of the Society, described the circumstances under which the gift was made.

In response to a request from the Special Problems Areas Subcommittee of the Illinois Post-war Planning Commission, the Southern Illinois Historical Society last fall submitted a list of historic sites considered worthy of acquisition and rehabilitation. The Society's report was made by a committee headed by Will Griffith.

The formation of a historical society for Whiteside County now seems to be assured. At a meeting held in the Sterling-Rock Falls Chamber of Commerce office last December, Roscoe Eades, president pro tem., was instructed to appoint a nominating committee to select officers. The officers, when they are chosen, will serve as a committee to draft a constitution and by-laws.

CONTRIBUTORS

The paper on the Alton Railroad was read by D. W. Yungmeyer before the annual meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society at Bloomington on October 6, 1944. When we asked Mr. Yungmeyer to tell us something about himself, he replied as follows: "My formal education stopped with high school. My musical education went on for some time after that, and I put it to good advantage most of my lifetime. I taught music for a while but could not stand being in one spot, so embarked on a life of travel in the entertainment field. This kept up for a long time, during which I did about everything from playing piano in the 'trenches' (the orchestra pit) to bit parts, sandwiching in some work as stage manager, advance man, and later production. As to railroad history—I can't remember a time when I have not taken a very lively interest in railroads, one of my very earliest efforts to preserve something being a drawing of a locomotive. I copied this from a colored picture

which my father gave me, using a cup-plate to ensure the roundness of the wheels, and crayons to color the job. I wonder what ever became of that effort. I've been a jack-of-all-trades in many other things, and now at this late date I'm working on the railroad." . . . Stanley Faye, the author of the second article in this *Journal*, is well known to the readers of historical magazines, as he has written many articles on the French and Indian period of American history. His last contribution to this publication appeared in the issue for March, 1942. . . . Grace Partridge Smith, author of the article on Wayland Female Institute, recently completed twenty years' service on the faculty of the University of Iowa and now lives in Carbondale, Illinois. She has contributed articles to numerous scholarly periodicals on folklore and other subjects. . . . Mildred Eversole is Assistant Editor in the Illinois State Historical Library.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Frontier Landlords and Pioneer Tenants
Paul Wallace Gates 143

A Frenchman in America: Two Chapters from Ampere's Promenade en Amérique, 1851
Translated by Mildred H. Crew 207

The Reverend John Brich: His Life and Tragic Death
Charles G. Davis 227

The Illinois Bookshelf 238

Historical Notes
"Grant Takes Command at Cairo" 242
Ernest E. East, "Proceeds from Ford's History of Illinois" 244
Daisy L. Whiteside, "Another Illinois Song" 245

The Illinois Scrapbook 247

News and Comment 254

Contributors 269

ILLUSTRATIONS

Scully Land in Logan County, Illinois....178

Chicago, as Seen from the Roof of the City Hall....211

Post Office, Chicago....215

Depot of the Michigan Southern Railroad, Chicago....219

Courthouse, Chicago....223

FRONTIER LANDLORDS AND PIONEER TENANTS

BY PAUL WALLACE GATES

NOT all frontiersmen were pioneer farmers struggling to create homes for themselves in the wilderness or on the prairie, or lonely cowboys watching over their charges on the boundless plains, or fur traders and trappers penetrating the most remote areas in their search for the beaver, the mink, and the otter, or miners optimistically wrestling with nature for the yellow nuggets. There were other frontier residents whose history is not so romantic but whose influence in shaping the emerging social and economic pattern was quite out of proportion to their numbers. The Indian agent with his power to disburse thousands of dollars of annuities, to contract for quantities of supplies, to hasten or delay Indian removal, to control allotments of land and the transfer of allotments, was a marked figure wherever he was stationed.[1] The army officers at their lonely posts at Fort Dearborn, Fort Snelling, Fort Scott, and Fort Riley played their part in building western America many years before their presence was made unnecessary by the onrush of settlers and the establishment of local government. The frontier editors who early appeared in every ambitious little community and started papers filled with stale news of European wars and with congressional harangues lifted bodily from the *National Intelligencer* and the *Congressional Globe* are worthy of attention. The territorial officials, the United States land officers, the lawyers whose services were in demand before there was a

[1] For an analysis of the rôle of the Indian agent as reflected in the career of John Tipton see Paul Wallace Gates's introduction to Nellie A. Robertson and Dorothy Riker, eds., *The John Tipton Papers* (*Indiana Historical Collections*, XXIV, Indianapolis, 1942), 3-53.

legal title to a piece of land in the area, the note shaver, the moneylender or banker representing eastern capitalists are types found on every frontier.

Transcending all these non-farmer pioneers in importance were the great landowners. To anticipate the settlers, they moved with, sometimes ahead of, the vanguard of frontiersmen, following closely the footsteps of the surveyor. Great holdings of land, sometimes running to a quarter of a million acres and more, were acquired by them for resale to other speculators or to actual settlers, or to rent to tenants. At every government land sale these men were in attendance; at every land office town they maintained conspicuous offices; their advertisements provided much of the patronage of the struggling frontier newspapers and in not a few instances the newspaper was simply an adjunct of the land business.[2]

These landowners expressed their supreme confidence in the future of the West by sinking great sums—in part borrowed capital—in the purchase of wild land, frequently retaining little or nothing for taxes, interest, fees, development costs, and other expenses connected with land ownership. If the expected profits did not materialize within a short period, their taxes remained unpaid, tax titles of dubious value issued, and patronage was thereby created for lawyers and the courts, and further financial aid given to the newspapers in the form of the much-fought-over "tax delinquent list." The tales widely bandied about in the West of crippling losses sustained by some of these landowners and the tremendous extent of the tax delinquent list, which at times seemed to indicate that few absentee, or even resident, owners were able to meet their taxes, have led some writers to conclude that no profits were made in the western land business. It is true that most holders of western land at one time or another complained about being land poor but it is

[2] See Paul Wallace Gates, "The Rôle of the Land Speculator in Western Development," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. LXVI, No. 3 (July, 1942), 314-33, and "Land Policy and Tenancy in the Prairie States," *Journal of Economic History*, Vol. I, No. 1 (May, 1941), 60-82.

also true that in practically every town, large or small, the local squire, the bank president, the owner of numerous mortgages, the resident of the "big house," the man whose wife was the leader of "society," got his start—and a substantial start—as a result of the upward surge of land values in the nineteenth century.

ROMULUS RIGGS—A PIONEER LANDLORD

Having made their plunge, which for the moment gave them nothing but a cold shock and threatened to engulf them entirely, some of these owners of great estates looked for means by which they might make their investments profitable. Thus Romulus Riggs of Philadelphia, who had acquired 256 quarter-sections of land in the Military Tract of Illinois during the thirties, first tried to secure sufficient return from his land to meet his taxes and then to add something for current income. When he discovered the Illinois Suckers' propensity for hooking or stealing timber from nonresident or speculator-owned land he decided that action was necessary or else his investment might become worthless. Legal action, he soon learned, was not the proper step to take as it aroused frontier prejudices and generally proved ineffective. Riggs found it possible to make agreements with squatters upon his land whereby they undertook to prevent unauthorized cutting on a number of sections in return for the right to use the land. A little later he induced squatters to agree to pay the taxes. Then, when their improvements such as a one-room log house, a little fencing, and a few acres of cultivated land represented sufficient labor and investment to put them in a receptive mood, Riggs demanded a cash rent in excess of the taxes. Thus was tenancy born on the frontier.[3]

HENRY L. ELLSWORTH INVITES PRAIRIE LANDLORDISM

It was in the prairie counties of central Illinois that frontier landlords and pioneer tenants were most numerous,

[3] This brief statement of the management of the 40,000-acre estate of Romulus Riggs is based on a study of the extensive collection of Riggs Papers in the Library of Congress.

as in these same counties today are found the largest of the estates and the highest proportion of tenancy. Long avoided by settlers and speculators, the prairie counties began to attract attention in the late thirties to some degree but more largely a decade later. One of the first persons to recognize the possibilities in prairie farming on a large scale was Henry L. Ellsworth, who, in 1835, acquired 18,000 acres in Vermilion and Iroquois counties, Illinois, and Benton County, Indiana, which he developed with the aid of laborers and tenants. As federal commissioner of patents he used his influence to interest men of capital in making investments in prairie lands which, he promised, would become highly profitable when tenants were established on them. Ellsworth advertised the prairies and the opportunity for investments in them in government documents, emigrant literature, and newspapers. Tenants, he maintained—and here he is supported by much contemporary evidence[4]—could easily be secured for absentee-owned estates provided some improvements were made; and on a crop-share basis the returns to both tenants and landowners would be large. Ellsworth's own advice on renting land is interesting:

> It is customary to rent land (once broke and fenced) for one-third of the crops, delivered in the crib or barn. At this rent the tenant finds all.
>
> I would advise to employ smart, enterprising young men, from the New England States, to take the farm on shares. If the landlord should find a house, a team, cart, and plough, and add some stock, he might then require one-half the profits of the same. I would advise to allow for fencing or ditching a certain sum, and stipulate that the capital invested should be returned before profits were divided. A farmer could in this way earn for himself from $700 to $1,000 per annum, on a lease for five years. . . .
>
> If it be asked, what are the profits of cultivation? I answer, if the land is rented for five years, the profits accruing during this period will repay the capital advanced in the commencement, with 25 per cent. in-

[4] In an article of 1852 directed "To Western Emigrants," Solon Robinson said, "No matter if you have no money, you can rent land very low, and will soon be in a condition to let land instead of hiring it." *Albany Cultivator*, Vol. X (Feb., 1843), 37. James Caird, who toured Illinois in 1858, observed that share renting was "very common in Illinois." *Prairie Farming in America* (New York, 1859), 93. In reading the prairie newspapers of the forties and fifties one is struck by the number of notices offering farms for rent and, less frequently, advertisements calling for farms to rent.

terest per annum, and leave the farm worth $20 per acre at the expiration of the lease. Probably the profit would be much greater.[5]

Ellsworth's great faith in the prairies and the alluring descriptions he gave of them induced many eastern capitalists to buy wild land in Indiana and Illinois. Dozens of people invested through him sums ranging from a few hundred to ten and twenty thousand dollars, and the total area that came under his control in this way ran to seven or eight townships. Other persons who were induced by Ellsworth to invest in prairie lands kept the management of their estates in their own hands. Possibly John Grigg, whose large land business is described below, was one of them.

Ellsworth undertook to establish for himself and his family a great patriarchal estate which he hoped to have well developed by tenants before advancing age required handing it over to his children. Part of the land was held as speculation, the proceeds to be used to finance improvements on the remainder. Hired laborers and tenants were used to construct fences, dig ditches, cultivate the land, and manage the livestock. As early as 1845 Ellsworth was offering to lease unimproved lands for one-half the crops for two or three years, at the end of which period a fee title would be given without further payments. A considerable amount of land was thus brought into cultivation but Ellsworth failed in his attempt to establish a profitable, well-managed, and modern estate like that of the Wadsworths of New York. Inadequate capital, the high cost of drainage and fencing, expensive and impractical experiments, and declining health, together with the crushing effect of the panic of 1857, defeated him. His estate, after some litigation, passed into the hands of more practical and hardheaded frontiersmen like Edward C. Sumner, Adams Earl, and Moses Fowler, who were to achieve the goal that Ellsworth had sought.[6]

[5] Letter of Henry L. Ellsworth of Jan. 1, 1837, in Henry William Ellsworth, *Valley of the Upper Wabash, Indiana* (New York, 1838), 166-67.

[6] I have described Ellsworth's land business in "Land Policy and Tenancy in the Prairie Counties of Indiana," *Indiana Magazine of History*, Vol. XXXV, No. 1 (March, 1939), 6 ff.

While Riggs, Ellsworth, and other frontier landlords succeeded in establishing tenancy at an early date on their holdings they were not able to obtain much rent until the middle of the century. The panic of 1837 and the resulting period of hard times, the scarcity of money on the frontier, and the poor demand for farm products made it difficult to collect rents or to sell land for anything like the prices anticipated, although it was not difficult to secure tenants. In the late forties the tide turned; immigrants by the tens of thousands began coming to Illinois annually, bringing with them some capital; eastern capitalists again bought land by the section and even by the township; agricultural prices recovered and, of course, land values skyrocketed.

GOVERNMENT LARGESS ENCOURAGES SPECULATION AND LANDLORDISM

In the midst of this land boom which lasted from 1847 to 1857, the federal government adopted several policies which further stimulated land speculation and hastened the end of the public domain in Illinois.

Military bounty land warrants covering more than 60,000,000 acres were granted to soldiers and officers of the Mexican War and to veterans of previous wars. These warrants were dumped on the market, where they dropped as low as sixty cents an acre, thereby doubling the amount of land which speculators could acquire through the use of these rights. At the same time, the wet, overflowed, or swamp lands were donated to the states in which they were located in the hope that they would be drained. Little was done to drain these swamp lands at the time; instead the lands soon found their way, in huge tracts, into the hands of speculators. Finally, the long discussed project for a central railroad to extend through the heart of Illinois received the blessing of the government, together with a grant of 2,595,000 acres of land to aid in its construction. The completion of this railroad, the longest as yet undertaken, together with the im-

petus it gave to the building of other prairie railroads, aided in bringing most of the prairie country within easy reach of modern transportation. As a result of these factors the era of the public domain was brought to an end in Illinois prior to the adoption of the Homestead Act.

RAILROAD LAND POLICIES

Second only to federal land policy in permitting as well as encouraging the establishment of large estates in Illinois was the land policy of the Illinois Central Railroad. As part of its efforts to sell its land grant the railroad invited capitalists to purchase land without limit and assured them, as Ellsworth was doing, that tenants could be secured to farm their land who would bring them high returns in the form of rents. A considerable part of the early sales of the railroad were made to colony promoters and landlords who were planning the creation of huge estates or bonanza farms.[7] The Malhiot estate, subsequently the Vandeveer estate in Christian County, the Sullivant estate in Ford and Champaign counties, the Funk and Gridley estates in McLean County, and the Danforth estate in Kankakee and Iroquois counties, were established in part from purchases of railroad land.

Landlordism and tenancy were also encouraged by the high prices the Illinois Central charged for its land. Few settlers were able to pay the $5.00, $10.00, or $20.00 which it charged per acre and if they were tempted by the optimistic descriptions of prairie farming to make a try at it they had to buy on time. Only advance interest was charged the first two years; in 1859 it was made the first four years. The principal payments proved to be hard to meet, few purchasers being able to complete payments on schedule. Lenient treatment by the railroad could not get around the fact that overdue payments resulted in added interest, and an increased debt. After long delays the Illinois Central encouraged set-

[7] Two pamphlets that were in the nature of promotion literature, sponsored by the Illinois Central, invited large investments by capitalists: Caird, *Prairie Farming*, 90, and *A Guide to the Illinois Central Railroad Lands* (Chicago, 1860), 39.

tlers to surrender their contracts and take title to a small part of the whole, the payments on which had been completed.[8] Some settlers in this way became owners of tracts too small to farm economically. Others never could complete their payments on the land to which their improvements had given increased value. Some, when pressed by the railroad, borrowed money on the security of their land, took title and mortgaged it to their creditor. From this mortgaged status some were to emerge as full owners, others were to be defeated and to have their farms foreclosed. Tenancy or emigration were open to them.

To the speculators and landlords of the thirties who, like the owners of the Riggs estate, had managed to carry their holdings through the dark days after 1837 was now added a new crop of frontier landlords who were looking for the chance either to rent their land or to sell it at enhanced prices. Over one-third of the area of Illinois was in the wild state, being held by the railroad, which was asking from $5.00 to $20.00 an acre for its well-located tracts, or by John Grigg, Solomon Sturges, or the numerous other speculators—all eager to sell at prices which were beyond the means of most immigrants, or to rent at a price equivalent to the government's charge for its land. True, the railroad and many speculators granted long credit but some down payment was required and few immigrants could even provide that. Furthermore, it must be remembered that prairie land, which comprised the bulk of the holdings of both the railroad and the speculator landlords, needed artificial drainage, that it was difficult for the man of small means to break up his land without the employment of expensive breaking plows and numerous yoke of oxen, that fencing and building materials were not easy to obtain without the expenditure of considerable money.[9] It seemed, then, that only men with some capital

[8] Paul Wallace Gates, *The Illinois Central Railroad and its Colonization Work* (Cambridge, 1934), *passim*.

[9] Clarence H. Danhof, "Farm Making Costs and the 'Safety Valve:' 1850-60," *Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. XLIX, No. 3 (June, 1941), 49-317 ff.

could contract for and meet the payments on railroad or speculator-owned land. In fact, the Illinois Central Railroad was careful in its advertising literature to warn the poorer class that they could not begin prairie farming without $1,000 or more for necessary expenditures.[10]

THE LAND SALES OF JOHN GRIGG

The experience of John Grigg in selling his great 124,000 acre estate in central Illinois is important as showing the rising value of unimproved land.[11] Grigg was not bothered by the lack of capital that so harried many of his contemporaries. His lands became encumbered neither by mortgages nor tax titles and when conditions improved he was in a position to take advantage of rising land values. By the middle forties he was selling land at $3.00 an acre, a price which was not exceeded, except for scattered forties, until 1851 and 1852 when prices ranging upward to $6.00 an acre were received, although $4.00 and even $3.00 remained more common. In the later fifties he received as high as $9.00 and $10.00 an acre, but somewhat lower prices were the usual thing. In the three counties of Sangamon, McLean, and Logan, Grigg's sales, mostly in the forties and fifties, were as follows:[12]

COUNTY	ACRES	PRICE REC'D.
Logan	3,378	$ 21,831
McLean	8,639	36,121
Sangamon	26,532	128,727
Christian	16,910	87,370
Total	55,459	$274,049

[10] *A Guide to the Illinois Central Railroad Lands*, 37.

[11] Information on the entries of public lands is compiled from the abstracts of entries in the National Archives, Washington. Duplicates of these records for Illinois are on file in the State Auditor's office, Springfield. Most Illinois counties have a volume of abstracts of original entries in the recorders' offices.

[12] Data concerning purchases, sales, and leases of land other than original entries have been compiled from the deed, mortgage and miscellaneous records of the various counties covered by this article. Since much of the data here given is collected from many volumes it has not seemed wise to give more than this general reference, except in cases of specific information when the volume and page are cited.

Grigg apparently neither planned to withhold his land for higher prices nor to rent to tenants. His policy was to push the land into buyers' hands as rapidly as possible and he was content with an average price of $5.00 an acre. Had he been willing to retain his land for a few years longer or had he attempted to secure tenants he doubtless would have fared better.

CORCORAN DEVELOPS HIS ESTATE

A major beneficiary of the rising land values and the growing demand for farm rents was William W. Corcoran, the well-known Washington banker and patron of the Democratic Party.

Over many years the federal government had come into the possession of a vast quantity of property through defalcations of treasury officials who had speculated in western land and whose investments and those of their bondsmen had been forfeited to the government. Greatest of these defaulters and absconders was Samuel Swartwout, collector of the port of New York, who had misappropriated more than a million dollars for speculations in western lands. In 1847 the time was deemed right for the government to sell these forfeited lands which had not been restored to the public domain and to which the government's title was not entirely clear. Corcoran, through his friend, Robert J. Walker, was sufficiently informed of the matter to be able to bid low but successful prices ranging from thirty-seven to forty-one cents an acre. Choicest of these lands were 22,199 acres in Illinois that were bought for thirty-eight cents an acre. This land was widely scattered, one-half being in Grundy, Macon, Coles, McDonough, Bureau, Fulton, and Will counties. In 1853 Corcoran added to his Illinois investment by a joint speculation made with Congressman Orlando B. Ficklin whereby 3,000 acres were acquired in Coles, Douglas, and Cumberland counties.

Corcoran's investments in Illinois being scattered, he was obliged to place them in charge of a number of agents who gave him a good deal of trouble by the lax manner in which they conducted the business, their inability to collect the rents when due and to pay the taxes before penalties and tax titles had encumbered the property. Corcoran was unable to give the business the close supervision that it needed, especially after 1861 when he was forced by circumstances to leave the country on account of his alleged pro-southern sympathies. Despite these difficulties and the fact that confiscation proceedings were brought against some of his lands, the estate developed in a most profitable way. Coal was early discovered on the Grundy and Rock Island land and Corcoran's royalties were large for years.

Absentee ownership and nonresident agents seemed to make necessary the cash rent system for the farming land. Corcoran gave leases for as much as five years but reserved the right to sell the land at any time. By means of partial remission of rents or direct financial assistance, he encouraged his tenants to build fences and to erect houses and barns. If the property were sold before the expiration of the lease, improvements put on the land by the tenants might be removed. Rents in the fifties ranged from merely nominal sums plus taxes and stipulated improvements to $1.00 and $2.00 an acre for well-developed farms. Gradually the rents were increased until in the nineties, after the larger part of the estate had been sold, or lost through title deficiencies, they brought as much as $8,000 and $10,000 a year to Corcoran's heirs.[13]

Both Riggs and Corcoran found that they had underestimated the difficulties of managing lands that were located in remote areas. For many years they were subjected to a constant stream of petty annoyances over timber-stealing, squatting, difficulties over tax payments and the collection

[13] There is an abundance of detail on this land business in the Corcoran MSS, Library of Congress.

of rents, and repeated demands by tenants for capital improvements to be made at the expense of the landlord. Their correspondence reflects rank pessimism and thorough disillusionment with the western land business despite the increasing returns it yielded.

Ellsworth was more typical than were Riggs and Corcoran of the great nineteenth century prairie landlords because he knew intimately the details of farming, gave the land and farming business his close personal supervision and identified himself completely with the development of the prairies. His generation witnessed the emergence of numerous estates ranging from 5,000 to 45,000 acres in central Illinois and northwestern Indiana that were owned, developed and operated by agricultural Napoleons possessing Ellsworth's vision and optimism plus the energy, shrewd judgment, faith in and capacity to drive themselves as well as their laborers and tenants to such a degree as to make successful their spectacular enterprises.

These prairie landlords followed a fairly common agricultural pattern based on livestock and grain-raising with greater or less emphasis upon the one or the other, but varied widely in their rental policies, their financial practices, and their use of hired labor. It was in Sangamon, Logan, De Witt, Piatt, McLean, Livingston, Grundy, Ford, Champaign, Vermilion, Iroquois, and Kankakee counties that these large estates were located. The Vandeveer estate in Christian County, the Gillett estate in Sangamon and Logan counties, the David Davis and Asahel Gridley estates in McLean County, the C. H. Moore estate in DeWitt County, and the Hoge, Holderman, and Collins estates in Grundy County are well worth study but only the more significant historically can be given attention here.

ISAAC FUNK, A LAND AND CATTLE KING

To most residents of Illinois mention of large estates calls to mind the Funk family. Isaac and Jesse Funk, who

were among the pioneers of McLean County, early engaged in the livestock industry, fattening great herds of cattle and hogs for market. One report has it that the Funks bought, fattened, and drove to market 6,000 hogs in a single season. From their cattle and hog business the Funks won high profits which were invested in land. By 1841, Isaac Funk had acquired 5,760 acres in Funk's Grove where his operations were centered. Included within this acreage was a considerable quantity of heavily timbered land which, being surrounded by treeless prairies, was certain to be in demand when these open spaces attracted population. In the early fifties, when the Chicago and Alton and the Illinois Central railroads were being built through McLean County and when there was a rush to secure the remaining public land in the state, Funk began buying on a scale much larger than before, both from the government and from the Illinois Central Railroad, whose holdings in McLean County were large. The profits he was making from the livestock business and from the sale of his timbered land and small pieces of choice prairie land made possible the purchase of some 22,000 acres, the bulk of which was in Funk's Grove.

On his huge estate of 27,000 acres Funk established a bonanza farm as spectacular as, and certainly more successful than, the great farms of the Red River Valley of a later time. In 1861, for example, he was reported to have 1,000 beef cattle, 200 cows with calves, 400 stock cattle, 500 sheep, 500 swine, 240 horses and mules, and 60 colts grazing on his land. Such gigantic operations called not only for large pastures but also for a good deal of corn for fattening the stock. Funk rented the land not required for pasture to tenants who paid him two-fifths of the grain they produced if they provided the farming utensils and teams; but if Funk provided the tools and the teams his share of the grain was one-half. Under the share rent plan Funk also provided housing accommodations, and such barns and cribs as were necessary, and set out

the hedge fencing.[14]

Like other cattle kings who invested their profits in large estates, Funk employed hired labor, generally easy to find on the frontier where land values were pushed up rapidly and where considerable funds were necessary even to buy a small tract from the government at its minimum price. Many laborers paused only for a short time on such jobs as Funk offered and then, with funds accumulated, bought land in the vicinity or, perhaps, moved farther west where it could be acquired more easily and cheaply. Other laborers moved up into the class of tenants, some of whom likewise made good and were able subsequently to become owners. Still others, however, found it difficult, if not impossible, to become owners and were to remain as tenants.

Funk bought land partly for development as pastures and for rent to tenants and also for resale at a later time. Funds derived from such sales were to make possible the improvement as well as the enlargement of the estate. Between 1842, when his first sales were made, and 1865, when he died, he sold 2,127 acres for $17,455, some small timbered tracts bringing as high as $90 an acre. In the four years after his death his heirs sold 3,467 acres for $106,761.

Isaac Funk's estate passed into the hands of his numerous children. Much of it is still held by descendants of the third and fourth generation. In fact, the ownership map of Funk's Grove Township even today gives the appearance of a family controlled township as it did in 1855.[15] Unlike some other families whose fortunes were made in holding and developing prairie real estate, the Funks have remained in McLean County, where they have taken a leading part in the

[14] *New York Tribune*, July 30, 1861; *American Agriculturist*, Vol. XXII (Sept., 1863), 263; L. H. Kerrick, "Life and Character of Hon. Isaac Funk," *Transactions of the McLean County Historical Society* (Bloomington, 1903), II:498-520.

[15] The location and extent of present-day land holdings may be obtained from the *Plat Books* compiled and published currently by W. W. Hixson & Co., of Rockford, Ill. These *Plat Books* have taken the place of the county atlases which are listed and described in Solon J. Buck, *Travel and Description, 1765-1865* (*Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library*, IX, Springfield, 1914), 255 ff.

great hybrid seed industry, banking, city improvement and other economic activities, in addition to their management of thousands of acres of farm land.

MICHAEL SULLIVANT: THE WORLD'S LARGEST FARMER

No description of frontier landlords of Illinois would be complete if it did not include Michael Sullivant. The Sullivant family had early settled in central Ohio where it had acquired 53,000 acres through the location of military warrants given to veterans of the Revolutionary War.[16] A tract of 5,000 acres near Columbus had been cleared and made into a highly productive farm on which 2,300 acres of corn and 250 acres of wheat were grown, and herds of sheep and 200 to 300 mules were pastured.[17] Tiring of this venture, Michael Sullivant and his brother, Joseph, rented their Ohio farm to tenants on a share basis and undertook to carry their large-scale farming and ranching operations westward into Illinois and later into Kansas.

Attracted by the deep rich soil of the Grand Prairie of east central Illinois at a time when that area was still largely untouched by white settlers, the Sullivants bought from the government, from the Illinois Central Railroad, and from speculators who had preceded them at the land office at Danville, 80,000 acres in Champaign, Ford, Livingston, and Vermilion counties, paying for the railroad land $5.00 and $10.00 an acre. A compact tract of 22,000 acres in Champaign County was chosen for the big farm which Sullivant proposed to develop. In February, 1855, the Sullivant party left Columbus, Ohio, for Illinois with nine heavy wagons, thirty horses, and thirty-five men, the wagons being designed to serve as tents until suitable

[16] William Thomas Hutchinson, "The Bounty Lands of the American Revolution in Ohio," 159, 197. (Unpublished dissertation, June, 1927, University of Chicago Library).

[17] Robert Russell, *North America. Its Agriculture and Climate* (Edinburgh, 1857), 124-25; *The Crisis* (Columbus, Ohio), April 25, 1861. The 750-acre farm in Ohio that remained in the possession of the Sullivant family in 1872 is shown in *Caldwell's Atlas of Franklin County, Ohio* (Columbus, 1872), 50.

buildings could be constructed. The party arrived on the land in time for spring plowing, additional laborers were recruited, and great herds of horses and mules were employed to break the prairie, seed it to corn, and fence the land—now appropriately called Broadlands.[18] From 1855 to 1866 Sullivant conducted operations at Broadlands on a scale that is reminiscent of the great plantations in the South. Between 100 and 200 laborers were employed in the summer, vast fields were planted to corn, and great herds of cattle were pastured. In one year 1,000 tons of hay were sold.[19] Later, when the estate was better developed, it was said to have 1,800 acres in corn, 340 acres in other grain, and to be pasturing 5,000 cattle and 4,000 worn-down government horses. Two hundred horses and mules and a large herd of oxen provided the motive power for the plowing, harrowing, seeding, and cultivating.[20]

Despite the large number of laborers he employed, Sullivant had mechanized his farm to a degree that surprised a correspondent of the *Cincinnati Enquirer* who wrote:

> Almost all of Mr. S's farming is conducted by labor saving machinery, so that it is estimated that, throughout, one man will perform the average labor of four or five as conducted on small farms. He drives his posts by horse-power; breaks his ground with Comstock's "spade"; mows, rakes, loads, unloads and stacks his hay by horse-power; cultivates his corn by improved machinery; ditches any low ground by machinery; sows and plants by machinery, so that all his laborers can ride and perform their tasks as easy as riding in a buggy.[21]

Sullivant's land purchases were financed by loans made by various banks and by the generous credit terms allowed by the Illinois Central, his debt being at the outset $225,000. Heavy interest charges, together with other costs involved in breaking, ditching, fencing, planting, and harvesting his

[18] *Chicago Weekly Democrat*, May 13, 1854; *Chicago Daily Democratic Press*, March 6, 1855, quoting the *Ohio Statesman*.
[19] *Prairie Farmer*, Jan. 12, 1860.
[20] *Moore's Rural New Yorker*, Vol. XIV (July 18, 25, 1863), 229, 237.
[21] Quoted in the *Cultivator and Country Gentleman*, Vol. XXVIII (Aug. 9, 1866), 91.

crops, soon raised his total debt to half a million.[22] For a time during the Civil War, Sullivant fared well, his net profit in 1862 being $80,000, which was invested in additional improvements.[23] Less favorable years followed, however, and the high interest charges on his debt obliged him to sell part of his 80,000 acres as he had originally planned to do. Unfortunately, unimproved prairie land in Champaign, Ford, and Livingston counties had not as yet attained the level for which he was holding. Circumstances therefore dictated the selling of Broadlands in 1866—22,551 acres for $270,000.[24] It was stated that the sale of the stock, grain, hay, and farming implements on the estate added nearly $100,000 to the purchase price.[25] Sullivant then turned to a still larger tract of 40,000 acres in Ford and Livingston counties, which was more remote from transportation facilities and in one of the least developed portions of Illinois.

In the next ten years Burr Oaks became the best-known farm in America, so widely published were the stories about its vast operations. Like Broadlands under its new owner, and the great farms of Jacob Strawn, Benjamin F. Harris, John Sidell, and Edward C. Sumner, all on the Illinois prairie, Burr Oaks was a true "bonanza farm" experiment in which individual fields of thousands of acres were plowed, harrowed, seeded, and harvested by the greatest array of farm machinery as yet assembled. A reporter of *Harper's Weekly*, who visited the farm in quest for pictures and information, was impressed with the size of the farm, the 16,000 acres in grain, the nature of the management, the specialization and division of labor, the meager buildings and few improvements but especially with the quantity of the labor-saving machinery in use. He wrote:

[22] J. W. Foster, land commissioner, Illinois Central Railroad, Jan. 27, 1861, to Wm. H. Osborn, Archives, Illinois Central Railroad. In 1857 Sullivant gave a trust deed to cover a mortgage of $150,000 on his Ford County land. The debt was owed to banks and individuals in Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky, and Virginia. 2 Deed Records, Ford County, 231.

[23] *Michigan Farmer* (Aug., 1863), new series, 2:62-63.

[24] 8 Deed Records, Champaign County, 45.

[25] *Paxton Record*, March 3, Sept. 8, 1866; *Prairie Farmer*, Sept. 15, 1866.

The machinery in use at Burr Oaks would handsomely stock two o three agricultural implement stores: 150 steel plows, of different styles 75 breaking-plows; 142 cultivators, of several descriptions; 45 corn planters; 25 gang harrows, etc. The ditching-plow, a huge affair of eight een feet in length, with a share of eleven feet by two feet ten inches, i worked by sixty-eight oxen and eight men. These finish from three t three and a half miles of excellent ditch each day of work.[26]

Perhaps the largest crop produced on Burr Oaks with the aic of this great array of farm machinery was that of 1871 whe the output of corn amounted to 600,000 bushels.

Tenancy was not introduced on Burr Oaks at first bu unmarried laborers, mostly Swedes and Germans, ranging in numbers from 200 to 400 were employed from Apri through January, being housed in rough barracks. Thus by constructing the fewest and most inexpensive improvement Sullivant was able to make his capital go a long way in buy ing land and in raising corn from it year after year.[27]

Sullivant's second venture in large-scale farming farec well until the panic of 1873 set in motion a downward move ment of prices. To compensate for this reduced income th area in cultivation was enlarged until there were 23,000 acre in corn, but this in turn greatly increased the burden of deb the estate was carrying. The panic also knocked the prop from under the real estate market and Sullivant was agai cheated of the opportunity of selling his surplus and unim proved lands to aid in carrying the remainder. In 1871 Bur Oaks was mortgaged for $478,000, more than half of whic was owed to Hiram Sibley, of Rochester, New York. Thi money was borrowed at ten percent interest and five percen commission, not high rates for Illinois at the time but hig enough to make the enterprise hazardous without a com bination of good crops and satisfactory prices.[28]

Sullivant found it increasingly difficult to keep all th

[26] *Harper's Weekly*, Vol. XV, No. 769 (Sept. 23, 1871), 897-98, 900-01. Included amon a number of interesting illustrations is a sketch of nine heavy breaking plows each hauled b four yoke of oxen.

[27] *Paxton Record*, Aug. 10, 1871.

[28] 11 Mortgage Records, Ford County, 321 ff.; *Paxton Record*, Feb. 6, 1879.

details of the farming business in his own hands and divided the estate into large units over which overseers were appointed. Division of authority was not a panacea; other and more fundamental difficulties had to be surmounted. Drainage of the prairies was essential but it was costly and Sullivant proceeded slowly, too slowly for his own good. In 1870 it was reported that nothing as yet had been done to drain the tract.[29] Dependence upon his corn crop put the "patroon," as Sullivant was called, in a dangerous position when that crop was light, but little was done to diversify save to pasture considerable numbers of cattle and hogs.

Continued financial worries and inability to sell surplus land forced a change in plans. Laborers on the estate and farmers in the vicinity were invited to become tenants of Sullivant, who was still reluctant to give up his well-earned title of "Corn King of America." In 1874 Sullivant advertised several thousands of acres to rent on shares in tracts of eighty acres or larger. He also wanted several "good farm bosses" to take charge of gangs of fifteen to twenty men with teams, the compensation to be according to ability.[30] This policy of establishing tenants on the land, which brought satisfactory returns to other large landowners in the sixties and seventies, was adopted too late to save Sullivant's estate. A series of poor harvests and an ever-mounting interest burden, together with continued management difficulties, forced an assignment in 1877 and foreclosure two years later.[31]

Although the local press had commented approvingly when Sullivant first came to Ford and Livingston counties to develop Burr Oaks[32] it soon changed its tune. When he was forced to sell part of his land, and later when Burr Oaks was divided into small tenant holdings, the newspapers expressed

[29] *Pontiac Sentinel and Press*, July 28, 1870.

[30] *Prairie Farmer*, Feb. 28, 1874; *Lincoln Herald*, July 23, 1874. In 1876 Sullivant announced that he had "come to the conclusion that I monopolize more territory" than he should and was ready to sell 20,000 acres. *Indiana Farmer*, Vol. XI (Sept. 9, 1876), 1. See also *Piatt County Herald* (Monticello, Ill.), Feb. 13, 1878.

[31] *Paxton Record*, Feb. 6, 1879.

[32] *Ibid.*, Sept. 8, 1866.

gratification. These counties already had a very high percentage of land cultivated by tenants or hired laborers, much of which was absentee owned, and the disposal of the Sullivant interest, coming at the same time that the Jacob Bunn estate in Livingston County was being liquidated, was regarded as a step in the right direction.[33] In Monticello, the *Piatt County Herald* called large land holdings "a great drawback" to a region since the majority of the owners were land-poor, unable to pay their debts, and kept out small farmers who were much more desirable.[34]

A MODERN LANDLORD

Somewhat reluctantly, it appears, Hiram Sibley, principal creditor of Sullivant, took over the larger part of Burr Oaks, now renamed Sibley Farms. Already experienced in large farming operations on his Howland Island estate in Cayuga County, New York, Sibley threw aside the whole Sullivant plan of operations and began anew. The 40,000 acre estate being considered too unwieldy for efficient administration, one-half was offered for sale in 1879, part being sold in large tracts and part being divided into small holdings.[35] Sibley reserved 17,640 acres that he divided into 146 tenant farms ranging in size from 80 to 320 acres. In the short space of four years he built on Burr Oaks 134 houses and barns in which were established as many tenant families, who were now largely displacing the migratory labor that Sullivant had employed. All the houses, barns, ditching, tiling, fencing and other improvements were put on the land by Sibley and they seem to have compared well with other tenant improvements in the same area.

Sibley struck immediately at the drainage question, being determined to have most of his land cultivated. Where his predecessor had left the wetter parts in permanent pasture

[33] *Pontiac Sentinel*, Jan. 9, 1878, March 19, 1879; *Gibson Courier* in *ibid.*, Nov. 6, 1878.
[34] *Piatt County Herald*, Sept. 13, 1876; *Pontiac Sentinel*, June 9, 1880.
[35] *Paxton Record*, Sept. 18, 1879.

with native grasses, Sibley began an elaborate program of ditch construction.[36] Very soon he learned, as most owners of prairie farms did, that ditching was not a satisfactory solution; only tile draining would make possible the successful cultivation of wet areas. By 1887, 376 miles of tile had been laid on Burr Oaks, in itself no small investment.[37]

As was common practice, the Sibley lands were rented on a share basis. At the town of Sibley huge corncribs and warehouses for small grains were erected to receive the landlord's share of the crops. A practical and efficient system of supervision was established on the estate including the employment of a general manager, a superintendent and executive officer, an overseer of hands, two overseers of tenants, an overseer of teams, and a foreman of repairs. In line with good farm practice it was the Sibley policy to feed the grain on the farms, and purebred beef and dairy cattle were introduced by the landlord. In 1879, 500 purebred calves were shipped to Burr Oaks from Sibley's New York farm.[38] The system of rotation and the farm practices to be employed by the tenants were closely prescribed. The lease in use on the Sibley farms today is undoubtedly the result of long experience gained in reconciling the divergent views of landlord and tenant. It prescribes among other things how corn is to be planted and how frequently it is to be cultivated, the methods of dividing the crops, the care of the ditches, and the elimination of burrs and weeds, and even states that when mechanical corn pickers are used the tenant "shall glean the field picking up all the ears missed, when requested. . . ." The enlightened policy of a modern landlord and perhaps the greatest justification for tenancy may be seen in the following statement of principle that is included in the livestock and

[36] *Paxton Record*, Nov. 6, 1879.

[37] *Paxton Record*, Feb. 3, 17, 1887.

[38] *Paxton Record*, Dec. 4, 1879. A detailed sketch of the history and development of Burr Oaks under Sullivant and Sibley, the information in which seems to have been supplied by Hiram Sibley, is in *Agricultural Review*, Vol. 2, No. 3 (Aug., 1882), 76-89, and is reprinted in part in Hiram Sibley & Co., *Farmers' Almanac*, 1883, pp. 28-37.

grain lease of the Sibley estate:

> One major way in which maximum profit in farming. . . can be obtained is by maintaining a balanced, all-year program which includes livestock as well as grain production thereby helping to maintain soil fertility and to secure large crop yields. Good soil, adequate buildings and fences combined with a system which includes limestone, legumes and livestock can produce the maximum profit through the co-operation of all parties concerned.

The fact that Sibley was rapidly improving his estate and settling tenants upon it who would have, in the ordinary course of events, higher incomes and more purchasing power than the laborers formerly employed by Sullivant won for him commendation in the local press. Sibley succeeded where Sullivant had failed; his system of rotation and diversification not only built up or conserved soil qualities, but it made for better results, on the average, than Sullivant's system with its heavy dependence upon corn as a crop. A rich section of Ford County which previously had had but slight development, now, under the benevolent management of Hiram Sibley and his representatives and tenants, became a prosperous and thriving area. By 1887, when the pressure for rent lands was heavy in Illinois and when the Sibley policy of providing relatively attractive improvements and giving fair treatment to tenants had become well known, it was reported that "a great many applicants" for rents were being turned away.[39] Since that time the Sibley family has sold a part of the estate and has encouraged tenants to enlarge the size of their tracts until today the 13,600 acres remaining to it are divided into forty-three farms ranging from 160 to 960 acres. The red barns and rusty yellow houses, the great fields of hybrid corn, the herds of Brown Swiss milking cattle and Hereford steers are familiar sights to residents of east central Illinois.

[39] *Paxton Record*, Feb. 17, 1887.

BROADLANDS

Sullivant's chief rival to fame as the farmer of vast tracts of land was John T. Alexander, who took over Broadlands in 1866. Like Isaac Funk and Samuel Allerton, whose extensive operations are mentioned below, Alexander was chiefly interested in the buying and fattening of cattle for market. On his 5,000 acre estate in Morgan County he pastured great droves of cattle that were bought in Texas and Kansas. The possession of Broadlands, which he enlarged to 26,500 acres, permitted him to increase his operations to such an extent that he was pasturing 5,000 cattle in addition to 500 hogs and many draft animals on his two farms, and was planning to double his herds of cattle.[40] Five thousand acres were planted in corn and 660 acres in other grains. Alexander continued Sullivant's policy of managing Broadlands as a single farm divided into large operating units, the labor being provided by Scandinavians under the charge of overseers. Dwelling houses were kept at a minimum and were found by an observer to be in dilapidated condition.[41] Mortgages in excess of $153,000 and a debt to the Illinois Central Railroad of $89,000 so heavily encumbered the farm that, despite his good fortune in some years, the interest burden, together with management problems, defeated Alexander as it was defeating Sullivant on Burr Oaks. In 1871 the trustees to whom the property was assigned sold two sections to Charles Ridgely and the remainder was deeded to the principal creditor, Augustus E. Ayers, a banker of Jacksonville.[42] Ayers managed Broadlands for some time but he had no such grandiose ideas as Sullivant and Alexander and only waited for an opportunity to unload without sustaining any loss. In 1875 it was reported that Ayers had sold 10,000 acres to 100 farmers and two years later it was said that 1,000 people were living on Broadlands. Even then, some of the land re-

[40] *Transactions of the Illinois State Agricultural Society* (Springfield, 1870), VII:135-36.
[41] *Prairie Farmer*, Aug. 7, 1869.
[42] 23 Deed Records, Champaign County, 552.

mained available for rent or sale.[43]

OTHER CATTLE KINGS OF THE INDIANA-ILLINOIS PRAIRIE

George Ade has preserved some of the flavor and romance of this phase of frontier history in an arresting article entitled: "Prairie Kings of Yesterday."[44] Here is set forth as nowhere else the era of "Cattle Kings," the huge ranches and farms they established, their lavish way of living and the gradual breakup of their estates. The locale of the story is northwestern Indiana, especially Benton, Warren, Jasper, and Newton counties where estates ranging in size from 4,000 to 30,000 acres were established by Adams Earl, Moses Fowler, Edward C. Sumner, Cephas Atkinson, Parnham Boswell, Lemuel Milk, Alexander J. Kent, and Hiram Chase. Some of these great landlords like Milk, Sumner, and A. H. and G. W. Danforth operated as extensively in Illinois as in Indiana. Milk came to Illinois in the early fifties where he entered the livestock industry. Profits from the sale of cattle and sheep provided funds to purchase 10,000 acres of land in Iroquois and Kankakee counties and at least 12,000 acres in Newton County, Indiana. In 1880 the "Nabob," as Ade calls Milk, had 50 farms in Iroquois County ranging in size from 80 to 640 acres that were rented to tenants on a share basis, as well as a large farm which he managed directly through laborers. Milk, Sumner, and the Danforths, whose holdings amounted to 80,000 acres, drained great areas first by ditching and then by tiling, fenced and subdivided their estates into small farms which were let to tenants. Gradually their holdings were reduced by sales and today the Milk estate has left some 4,500 acres, the Danforth estate 3,500, and the Sumner estate 6,200 acres.

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[43] *Lincoln Herald*, July 23, 1874; *Piatt Republican* (Monticello, Ill.), Nov. 4, 1875; *Pontiac Sentinel*, Sept. 5, 1877.

[44] *Saturday Evening Post*, Vol. 204, No. 1 (July 4, 1931), 14 ff. More contemporary information on the operations of Milk and other large owners may be found in H. W. Beckwith, *History of Iroquois County* (Chicago, 1880), Part II, 369-76 and elsewhere.

MATTHEW SCOTT'S LAND BUSINESS

While the large-scale farming operations of Sullivant, Alexander, and other owners of big farms who relied on hired labor delayed the introduction of tenancy for a short time they made sure its widespread adoption, once the estates were broken up, for by then land values had risen so high that few immigrants could do other than rent. Tenancy came earlier on estates which the landlord did not choose to farm himself through hired laborers, but elected to rent instead. Much information on the beginning of tenancy in the Corn Belt may be gleaned from the story of the land business of Matthew T. Scott, Jr.

The Scott family had been prominent in the annals of early Lexington, Kentucky, and it was to leave its mark upon the development of Illinois.[45] Matthew T. Scott, Sr., president of the Northern Bank of Kentucky, with his seven sons, James, Isaac, Joseph, John Matthew T., Jr., Joseph M., and William, and his three daughters, Mary, Margaret, and Lucy, for themselves and others with whom they were associated, purchased a total of 42,000 acres of land, mostly in Livingston, Grundy, McLean, and Piatt counties in the years from 1836 to 1855, in addition to 5,600 acres in western Iowa. For many years the investment remained dormant, the owners waiting until increasing settlement made possible either sale or rental of the land. Proper attention seems to have been given to the investment for, unlike many other such estates, the Scott holdings did not become involved in tax titles and squatter claims. Eventually Isaac Scott came to Piatt County to develop a number of thousand acres in that section. He settled tenants upon his land, built them homes "better than tenants usually have," constructed an elevator in Bement to house the share grain he received, and became one of the influential men in the community.[46]

[45] George W. Ranck, *History of Lexington, Kentucky* (Cincinnati, 1872), 382.
[46] Emma C. Piatt, *History of Piatt County* (Chicago, ca. 1883), 393-94.

After some experience in Ohio managing the family's lands, Matthew T. Scott, Jr., came to Illinois in 1852 to enter land, and three years later to settle. In the midst of a large block of the family land in southern Livingston and eastern McLean counties, he selected a site on the Chicago and Alton Railroad which was planned as a center of operations for his extensive farm business and on it he laid out the town of Chenoa. In an advertisement calling attention to the "Great Sale of Lots in the Town of Chenoa," Scott related numerous advantages the site held, promised a credit of two years to lot buyers with remission of interest to those who within six months would build houses worth $400 or $500, offered to take a quarter-interest in a steam mill and to furnish one-half the money to build it. Inducements were also offered to attract mechanics.[47]

These were the usual efforts made by the town platters on the frontier, but Scott could add to them the construction of great corncribs and warehouses to receive the quantity of produce he was shortly to get from his numerous share tenants. Although Chenoa was too close to Bloomington to become an important city, it did become a considerable agricultural center in which Scott was able to sell town lots for a total in excess of $15,000, at little cost to himself. It was soon apparent that real estate values in Chenoa would always be modest and Scott, more hardheaded and practical than many western landlords, turned his attention to the development, sale, and rental of the large family estate in wild land.

Matthew Scott planned to make the estate in his care a permanent and profitable investment. To accomplish this without undue delay it was necessary to attract settlers by constructing tenant houses, barns, and fences, and by draining wet areas. The cost of such improvements was to be met by selling those portions of the family's holdings, improved

[47] *Bloomington Pantagraph*, April 30, 1856.

or unimproved, for which there was a ready demand. The income from sales, judiciously invested in additional improvements, would raise the rental or the sales value of the remaining land, and would thereby assure a steadily rising income of a permanent character.

The Scott land was not pushed on the market; distress sales were avoided; and only when prices were satisfactory were tracts sold. Study of the deed records shows that a minimum of $6.00 or $7.00 was maintained and few tracts were sold for less than $10.00 an acre. Nor did Scott have to wait long for acceptable prices. The prosperity of the years 1855, 1856, and 1857 and of the Civil War years sent land values up at an unparalleled rate and well-located tracts with only slight improvements brought good returns. In the sixties most sales were made for $10, $11, and $12 an acre and in the seventies for $20 and $25 an acre. Thereafter the price rose to $30, $40, and $50 in the eighties, and to $60 to $90 in the nineties. One tract of 160 acres was sold in 1909 for $200 an acre. A tabulation of Scott's land sales, exclusive of town lots, in the four counties of Ford, Livingston, Logan, and McLean, shows 13,289 acres for which $265,367 were received. These prices, of course, include improvements put upon the land by Scott or his tenants. Funds derived from these sales, together with some capital he brought with him from Kentucky to Illinois, made it possible for Scott to finance extensive improvements on the land he planned to retain.

Both to attract immigrants to his land, either as purchasers or tenants, and to aid them in getting farming operations under way the first year, Scott undertook to build modest, inexpensive "cottage houses" upon the forty or eighty acre tracts into which he was dividing his land and to break the prairie preparatory to the first crop. During his first year in Illinois he built ten or a dozen such houses and broke up and seeded to wheat and corn more than a thousand

acres.[48] Since his improvements were in a part of McLean and Livingston counties that was still quite untouched by settlers and unused by cattlemen he did not find it necessary to start fencing at the outset. In 1856 Scott was advertising for "Farmers, Prairie Breakers and Laborers" to aid in developing the twenty quarter-sections that were already considerably improved.[49] Thereafter, Scott rapidly enlarged his land operations and agricultural improvements, building between 160 and 200 tenant houses, setting out 275 miles of hedge, digging 250 miles of ditching, and tiling 5,000 acres.[50]

SCOTT'S RENTAL SALES CONTRACTS

Without fanfare Scott put into operation a plan which was to aid in bridging the gap between the buyer and settler of land and to provide in theory, if not in practice, a ladder from tenancy to ownership. The plan called for contracts whereby Scott agreed to deed a piece of land in six, seven, eight, or nine years in return for one-half the crops for that period. An examination of forty contracts, embracing 3,500 acres, reveals a common pattern in the conditions of the sale with, however, wide variations in terms. In general, Scott provided housing accommodations, although in some instances the buyer had either to erect his own house or to provide the labor or its equivalent for construction; taxes were to be paid by the buyer who was to drain all wet areas, at least share in the cost and labor of fencing, exterminate noxious weeds, bring one-half the land in cultivation the first year and the remainder the second year, and keep all buildings and fences in good condition. Scott allowed the buyer to retain all the first or sod crop, but thereafter required

[48] The *Bloomington Pantagraph* watched with much approval the vigorous way in which Scott applied himself to the task of improving his land and the success he had in bringing in settlers, and urged other large landowners to follow his example. May 2, Oct. 3, 1855, and May 15, 1856.

[49] *Ibid.*, April 16, 1856.

[50] George B. Pickett, *A Short Sketch of the Life and Character of Matthew Thompson Scott* (Bloomington, Ill., 1891), 8.

that his half should be hauled by the tenant to his cribs at Chenoa or other focal points.

The crop sharing system required close supervision at harvesting time and did not prove entirely satisfactory to Scott, so in many of the contracts a clause was substituted that worked something like a cash rent. Instead of requiring one-half the crops Scott commuted his share to sixteen bushels of corn per acre, multiplied that by the number of years the contract was to run, and allowed the purchaser to make payments toward the total quantity as fast as he desired. For example, Stephen Casey contracted in 1866 for the S½ SW ¼, Sec. 16, T 26 N, R 4 E in McLean County; of which seventy acres were to be planted to corn. One thousand one hundred and twenty bushels of number-one corn were to be delivered to Scott yearly from 1868 through 1875, and one-half of eight crops of timothy hay—which was to be raised on the remaining ten acres—was to be baled and delivered to Scott. Payments in excess of the required 1,120 bushels would be credited toward the total of 8,960 bushels for which the contract called, thereby making it possible to hasten final deeding of the property.[51] Another contract, made with James L. Sheppard for 160 acres in Sec. 30, T 29 N, R 7 E in Livingston County in 1864, called for one-half of six crops of corn, rye, oats, flax, and timothy hay; when the aggregate of the crops grown on 477 acres had been delivered to Scott the property would be deeded to Sheppard.[52]

Under Scott's system of making sales on what amounted to a rental basis most of the risk was born by the purchaser. Scott, it is true, provided the materials and sometimes the labor for the houses, set out part of the fencing, paid for part of the cost of ditching and breaking the prairie, and tiled some of his land, but much of the labor involved in these improvements was provided by the purchaser or tenant. All such improvements added to the value of the land,

[51] 61 Deed Records, McLean County, 169.
[52] V Deed Records, Livingston County, 133.

whether held for sale or rent, and in case the tenant failed to fulfill the terms of the contract everything reverted to Scott. The interests of the landlord were also carefully safeguarded by stipulations requiring that his share of the crops should be assured to him through a lien on all crops and property of the tenant. Some of the contracts did state that full payment of the landlord's share for one or more years would entitle the buyer to a fraction of the land if he did not wish to farm the entire tract any longer. Furthermore, it should be pointed out that the buyer was not held for the high rate of interest on delayed payments that was required of frontier debtors, and that he was not encouraged to borrow from others because of the difficulty of providing collateral, his interest in the land neither being assignable nor subject to mortgage. On the other hand, when there was a poor harvest and the landlord exacted his share despite the smallness of the crop, or in lieu thereof extended the period of the contract to compensate for the failure, the tenant or buyer might either have inadequate supplies to carry him to the next harvest or he might become discouraged at successive failures and throw up his equity. A succession of poor crops or low prices, accompanied by marketing difficulties, put many of Scott's tenants into a frame of mind that induced them to abandon the struggle to acquire title to their farms.

That many of the settlers on Scott's land failed to fulfill their contracts is evident from a study of the deed records. Some gave up the first year, one piece of land having three successive settlers in as many years, while others clung tenaciously to their tracts for a number of years despite drought, poor crops, and low prices, only to lose their homes at a later time. A considerable number succeeded in meeting the terms of their agreement and in securing title to their homes, but the high rate of turnover among settlers and the frequent releases of contracts show that the terms were difficult for many to meet. This was also the experience of numer-

ous buyers of Illinois Central land who struggled in vain to fulfill contracts in money. There is no evidence that Scott was harsh in his treatment of settlers, whose welfare and success meant much to him. Yet when settlers were forced by circumstances to give up their homes he found it easy to sell or rent at higher prices than were previously obtainable, for the improvements put upon the land with the labor of former tenants had definitely made it more attractive. In this way Scott established a successful land business which, at no great expense to him, became highly productive and could be counted on to net good rents or to bring attractive prices at sale. In 1862, only seven years after he had first undertaken the development of his land, Scott sold a part of the corn and wheat he had received on fourteen contracts, amounting to 20,000 and 2,000 bushels respectively, for $3,500—a net return of more than $2.00 an acre. Meantime, the unfortunate settler whose contract had been voided for failure to fulfill its terms found that land values in Illinois had gone far beyond his capacity to purchase and the choice of tenancy or trying life anew in central Kansas or Nebraska, to which the great tide of immigration was now flowing, alone remained to him.

THE ALLERTON ESTATE IN PIATT COUNTY

Another great landlord of Illinois who deserves attention is Samuel Allerton. Unlike his contemporaries—Funk, Sullivant, Grigg, and Scott—Allerton did not buy his land directly from the government. Instead, he came into the market late and had to pay the high prices that land was bringing during and after the Civil War. It was in buying and selling cattle in the Chicago market, to which he came in 1860, that Allerton was to lay the foundations for his fortune.[53] Quick financial success made possible the purchase of blocks of land in Piatt and Vermilion counties, on which

[53] A. T. Andreas, *History of Chicago* (Chicago, 1885), II:341; *Dictionary of American Biography*.

he planned to pasture and fatten the droves of cattle he was buying in the West. In 1863 he made his first large purchase of 1,280 acres in Piatt County, for which he paid $10 an acre. Slowly the estate was enlarged until he and his children had acquired 11,655 acres in Piatt County and 3,660 acres in Vermilion County, in addition to extensive holdings in Henry County and in Nebraska.

TABLE OF PURCHASES BY SAMUEL ALLERTON IN PIATT CO.

Year	Seller of Land	Acres	Price per acre	Amount
1863	William Martin	1,280	$ 10.00	$ 12,800
1865	Williams & Henderson	160	18.75	3,000
1866	Ainsworth and Ater	80	10.00	800
1866	H. C. McComas	6½	20.00	130
1867	Illinois Central R.R.	314	10.00	3,140
1871	John Matsler	80	46.87	3,750
1873	Watts and Bodwell	600	20.00	12,000
1874	D. Williams	40	37.50	1,500
1879	B. F. F. Yoakum	240	31.66	7,600
1880	W. Voorhies	2,000	30.00	60,000
1880	E. J. Clark	240	20.83	5,000
1880	Williams and Dempsey	1,797	35.19	63,241
1881	James Clark	120	30.00	3,600
1882	W. O. Dooley	120	33.33	4,000
1885	James F. Vent	40	35.00	1,400
1885	Horace R. Calif	480	35.00	16,800
1885	Reid and Wilson	479	57.03	27,320
1891		40	112.50	4,500
1892	W. F. Stevenson	1,187	58.97	70,000
1893		162	72.22	11,700
1894		100	70.00	7,000
1899		48	70.00	3,360
1901	Asler C. Thompson	1,080	50.00	54,000
1901		70	80.00	5,600
1902-1918	11 small purchases totaling	892		130,227

Samuel Allerton divided the larger part of his estate, including the broken land bordering on the Sangamon, into pastures which were seeded to cultivated grasses, while that well suited for cultivation was tiled and planted to corn. Extensive operations with emphasis upon pasturing cattle and

the use of hired labor left room for only a handful of tenants and as late as 1880 there were only three houses on the estate.[54]

In the division of the Allerton estate, Robert Allerton, a son, came into possession of the Piatt County land. Robert Allerton, unlike his father, disapproved of absentee landlordism and decided to build a home for himself in the midst of his 12,000 acre tract. Consequently, near Monticello, he built an elaborate manor house which is one of the show places in Illinois. Robert Allerton was a modernist with regard to farm practices and soil conservation and through his farm manager was to prescribe carefully the operations of the seventeen tenants on the estate. He and his father rented their land on the share basis; the improvements were owned by the Allertons and the tenants were encouraged to make stock raising an important feature of their operations. In the twentieth century a large part of the estate has been conveyed, or is promised to state and county governments for an old folks' home, a tuberculosis sanitarium, a model farm on which soil conserving practices can be taught, and for a forestry project.

Land being the favorite investment that it is in Illinois, no self-respecting banker, lawyer, or newspaper proprietor in the small towns and cities of the downstate counties can hold, it would seem, a proper position among his fellow men unless he owns a few farms and can talk intelligently about hybrid corn, the chinch bug, yields per acre, crop rotation schemes, farm machinery, and tenant problems. One has only to spend a short time in such flourishing communities as Pontiac, Paxton, Dwight, Morris, Lincoln, Monticello or larger cities like Bloomington, Springfield, Decatur, and Champaign-Urbana to realize how intimately the fortunes of many city people are tied to the soil through farm ownership. Samuel Allerton had hundreds of imitators, large and

[54] Piatt, *History of Piatt County*, 253.

small, who, as their fortunes grew, invested them in the purchase of farm after farm. Thus the Oughton and the McWilliams estates were being acquired in the eighties and nineties, farm by farm, and in the same way were numerous other larger or smaller estates being erected in what has generally been regarded as one of the surest and safest types of investment the country offered.

IRISH LANDLORDISM EMIGRATES TO ILLINOIS

Outranking all other estates of Illinois in acreage, in value, and in the public attention it attracted, was the Scully estate which was first established in 1850 but enlarged at a later time. No frontier landlord in the entire country caused as much unrest among his tenants and was the object of as much ill feeling and political agitation as William Scully. Few men of the time were as harshly condemned and as ruthlessly caricatured as he was during 1887 when the campaign against him was at its height. Sullivant, Sibley, Scott, and Alexander generally enjoyed a favorable press but Scully was belabored in this country and in Ireland. His difficulty was that his career as an Irish landlord had been unhappy, to say the least, and that he introduced into America some highly unpopular features of the Irish land system just at the time when they were being modified in Ireland.

Scully was a member of a prominent land-owning and "moneyed" family of Tipperary County, Ireland, which in 1875 was found by a British parliamentary commission to own or hold on long term leases 14,520 acres with a rental value well in excess of $57,000. William Scully himself held at that time 3,344 acres with a rental value of $10,000 or more.[55] Since he had invested substantial sums in America prior to 1875 it may be that his holdings in Ireland were much larger prior to his first undertakings in this country.

[55] A. M. Sullivan, *New Ireland* (London, 1877), I:328. Information on the land holdings of the various members of the Scully family may be found in "Return of Owners of Land of One Acre and Upwards in the Several Counties, Counties of Cities, and Counties of Towns in Ireland," *British Parliamentary Papers*, Session of 1876, Vol. 80.

The term Scullyism, as used by historians of nineteenth century Ireland, meant rack renting or extortionate rents, and evictions of tenants without due cause, frequently under distressing circumstances.[56] In the eighteen hundred and sixties a series of clashes between Scully and the tenants on his Ballycohey estate culminated in a murderous assault on the former when he was attempting to serve eviction notices. This desperate action resulted in the wounding of Scully and the deaths of two men who were aiding him. Condemnation of the act was immediate, but the accounts, even in the conservative *London Times*, showed that the guilty parties had been driven to such measures by Scully's treatment of his tenants.[57] One historian maintains that Scully's "despotism," which arrayed against him "every voice" including "his brother landlords and magistrates" and which was condemmed by the coroner's jury, provided the "decisive impulse to public opinion," that led to the Irish land act of 1870.[58] Among other reforms, this act sought to make evictions more difficult and to require that ousted tenants be compensated for their improvements. It was the first of a series of reform measures which have transformed the insecure downtrodden and thoroughly discontented tenant population of Ireland into a class of peasant proprietors.[59] While Irish tenancy was thereafter slowly to diminish, Illinois tenancy was gradually, if not rapidly, increased, and William Scully was an important factor in this development.

SCULLY'S LAND PURCHASES

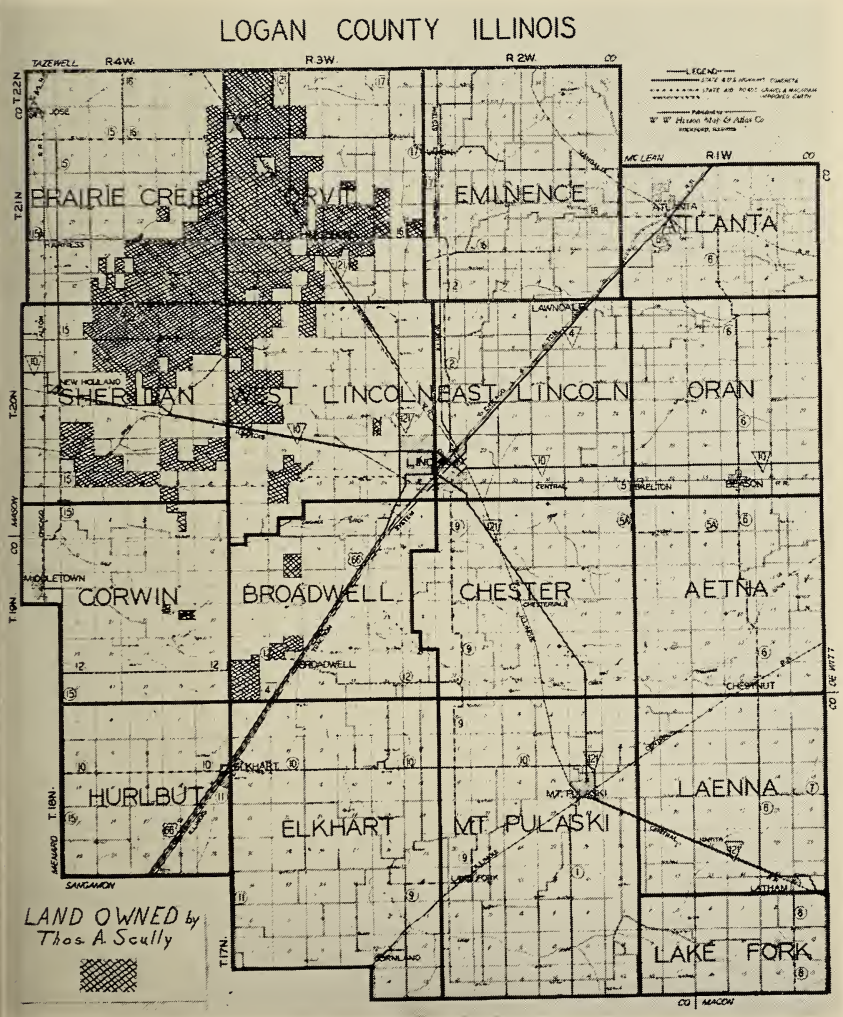
It may be that Scully's entrance into the western land business was an indirect result of an act of Parliament of 1849 which provided for the creation of the encumbered estates court. Passed to permit the sale of encumbered estates, the act led to the transfer of some 3,000 estates worth £25,000,-

[56] Sullivan, *New Ireland*, II:350-71; James Godkin, *The Land-War in Ireland* (London, 1870), 210, 352.
[57] *London Times*, Aug. 17, 19, Sept. 5, 7, 1868.
[58] Sullivan, *New Ireland*, II:364-65.
[59] John E. Pomfret, *The Struggle for Land in Ireland* (Princeton, 1930), 44 ff.

000. Within a year after the adoption of this act Scully journeyed to America where, after some preliminary inquiries, he proceeded to Illinois. Here, according to the oft-told story, he made a tour of the prairies, taking with him a famous spade with which he dug into the tough prairie sod to determine the nature of the soil. How extensive his search was it is impossible to say but that it bore fruit in wise selection of land none can deny. Having satisfied himself that the prairie soils of Logan County were rich and potentially valuable, Scully appeared at the federal land office in Springfield on October 11, 1850, and located with Mexican bounty land warrants of the act of 1847, 54 quarter-sections. Between then and July 5 of the following year he located 133 additional quarters of which two were later suspended because of a conflict. In 1852 Scully located in the Chicago land office 55 quarter-sections in Grundy County, thereby bringing his total acquisitions to approximately 38,000 acres. By using bounty warrants Scully acquired a large tract for a very modest sum. For 792 additional acres in Logan County that were bought from private individuals between 1852 and 1857 he had to pay an average of $6.43 an acre.

It was Scully's plan to keep these lands permanently and to lease them to tenants in much the same way that he and his family had owned and rented lands in Ireland. Possibly, at the outset, he contemplated using part of the land for a large stock farm as Sullivant, Alexander, and others were doing. There is an intriguing advertisement in the *Bloomington Pantagraph* for August 8, 1855, which lends support to this supposition. Circumstances, whether economic necessity or the death of his wife it is not clear, led to an alteration in Scully's plans for in the advertisement he offered 1,200 sheep and 30 head of cattle for sale. He was also busy selling land.

The terms of Scully's sales contract remind one of the Scott contracts. A cash payment of $1.00 an acre was required to bind the bargain, the balance being due in equal payments



Scully Land in Logan County, Illinois

at the end of the third and fifth years. Improvements worth $100 or $200 were to be put upon the land within the first two years or the contract would be voided and the advance payment would be regarded as rent for the land and not subject to return to the settler. Interest on the amount due ranged between eight and ten per cent and taxes from the time of purchase were to be paid by the buyer. For persons fully paying for the land in one transaction, of course, no such terms were included.

The sale in the fifties of 6,200 acres for an average price of better than $9.00 an acre with eight or ten percent interest on delayed payments—land that had been acquired for seventy cents an acre five or seven years earlier—provided quick returns that might have satisfied the most greedy speculator. True, fifteen of the forty settlers to whom Scully made sales in this period failed to meet their payments and their contracts were forfeited, but Scully had at least collected the $1.00 an acre advance payment which was sufficient rent for a couple of years. Furthermore, the improvements the purchasers made added to the attractiveness of Scully's land and were shortly to make it possible for him to rent tracts for $1.00 an acre. These sales, together with a few tracts sold in the sixties and one piece of 152 acres sold in 1888 for $50.00 an acre, amounted in all to some 4,000 acres, part of which, it is interesting to note, Scully was to buy back at many times the price for which he sold it.

It is unlikely that Scully ever intended to dispose of all his land. Probably the sales of the fifties were for the purpose of tiding him over until paying tenants could be secured. During the Civil War he leased tracts for $1.00 an acre and soon after he was able to secure tenants for all his land. These rents were shortly to provide Scully with a net income of $80,000 and more, which, contrary to the statements made by some of his detractors, was not to be spent entirely abroad but was largely invested in additional land purchases.

Another source of funds for these purchases was the income from rents and from the liquidation of a part, at least, of the Irish estates. In 1868, the year of the Ballycohey tragedy when public opinion in Ireland was running strongly against Scully, pressure was brought to bear to induce him to sell that estate, on which were settled twenty-two tenant families. When, therefore, a local landlord offered to purchase Ballycohey for its "improved value" Scully agreed to sell. In the words of the *London Times* of September 28, 1868, this was a "welcome deliverance for the people." Irish landlordism was coming more heavily under attack at this time, partly because of the excesses to which some owners went in increasing rents and in making evictions, and thoughtful people were beginning to feel that reform was necessary, whereby tenant rights of fixity (or security) of tenure, fair rent, and free sale (the right to sell improvements put upon the land), should be guaranteed by the government. In 1870, Parliament passed a land act which took the first halting steps in this direction, thereby making landlordism in that distracted country less attractive. Scully was doubtless distressed at the success of the reformers in pushing through Parliament the act of 1870, as were most Irish landlords, and, with funds now well in hand, he turned away from his own country and began investing in a larger measure than before in America where the laws gave all the traditional protection to property rights that was characteristic of England.

Only in Kansas and Nebraska were there still available for purchase public lands that were at all comparable to the Logan and Grundy County land. Consequently, Scully turned to these states for investment. In June, 1870, he purchased at the Beatrice, Nebraska, land office 41,420 acres in Nuckolls County which is in the southern tier of counties about 130 miles west of the Missouri River. The following month Scully purchased of the federal government 14,060 acres in Marion County, Kansas, and 1,160 acres in Dickinson Coun-

ty, Kansas, being located about 150 miles from the Missouri River. These purchases of Scully's were among the last of the large acquisitions of farming land by individuals or companies. By 1870 the unrestricted public lands that were still open to private entry were about gone, except for some rich tracts of timberland in the Lake States, the Gulf States, and California, and an area of grazing land that was subsequently to be sold in Colorado. Henceforth, any additional tract that Scully might want would have to be bought from land-grant railroads, from large speculators who had seized upon the agricultural college scrip of the states to acquire tracts of great size, or from pioneer settlers who were having difficulty in meeting mortgage payments or were too restless to stay anywhere for long.

By now the Illinois rents and the liquidation of the Irish estates were producing sums sufficient to make possible a rapid expansion of land buying and for the next decade Scully's agents were scouring Kansas, Nebraska, Missouri, and Illinois in one of the largest individual land buying campaigns in American history.

The greatest volume of purchases being made by Scully's agents was in Marion County, Kansas. Here was bought land owned by persons living as far away as Waterford and New York City, New York; Lenawee County, Michigan; Grant County, Wisconsin; Umatilla County, Oregon; Skowhegan, Maine; Ouray County, Colorado; Brown County, Texas; and Ontario, Canada. Scully bought of John Williams, a well-known banker, railroad promoter, and land speculator of Springfield, Illinois, 9,440 acres in Marion County, Kansas, for $2.00 an acre. These lands had been purchased by Williams at the Junction City land office a little earlier for the government minimum price. From the Santa Fe Railroad, which in this transaction as well as in others showed no disinclination to sell to speculators and large buyers, were acquired 8,622 acres for $38,008. A part of the famous Christie

ranch, consisting of 2,560 acres, was bought at forced sale for $13,240 which was about two-thirds of the appraised value. In forty-one other transactions Scully acquired 19,824 acres for $90,048. Finally, 960 acres of tax-delinquent land were purchased for $621. Altogether, Scully acquired 55,666 acres in Marion County at a cost of $179,197. In Butler County, just to the south of Marion, he bought in the eighties 8,605 acres for $77,410.

In 1881 Scully turned his attention to two fertile counties just north and south of the Kansas-Nebraska line. In Gage County, Nebraska, he acquired 22,288 acres for $290,254 and in Marshall County, Kansas, he acquired 5,115 acres for $55,252. Of the 63 persons from whom the land in Gage County was bought only 19 were residents of the county, while 18 were residents of Illinois and 9 were residents of Ohio. In both of these states, but especially in Illinois, were numerous individuals who had accumulated small fortunes from the rise in land values of the fifties and sixties, and who, in the late sixties, began investing heavily in Kansas and Nebraska lands. Illustrations of individuals who carried their land business westward as the frontier advanced from Illinois into Kansas and Nebraska are John and Robert Niccolls, Asahel Gridley, E. B. Munsell, and John Williams.

The price paid by Scully for tracts in Kansas and Nebraska indicates that a considerable proportion of them were improved. A summary of the land he acquired there between 1870 and 1886 is shown by the following table:

SCULLY'S PURCHASES IN KANSAS AND NEBRASKA

Location	Acres	Cost
Marion	55,666	$ 179,197
Dickinson	1,120	1,400
Butler	8,605	77,410
Marshall	5,115	55,252
Gage	22,288	290,254
Nuckolls	41,420	51,775
Total	134,214	$ 655,288

About the same time 42,000 acres were acquired in Bates County, Missouri, which probably cost about $200,000. In 1941 the Bates County land was sold to the Farm Security Administration for $1,078,000.

Most profitable among Scully's many investments were his Illinois lands and naturally he was ready to purchase more of them. Money invested in Illinois, however, acquired much smaller acreages, so rapidly did land values rise in the twenty years following the Civil War. Where attractive land in Kansas and Nebraska could be acquired for $5, $10, and at the most $20 an acre, it was necessary to pay from $30 to $50 an acre for prime land in Illinois. Thus in 1875, a depression year, Scully paid $47 an acre for 824 acres in Logan County. The following table shows his purchases in this county together with the number of persons from whom the land was bought and the price paid.

LATER PURCHASES OF SCULLY IN LOGAN COUNTY

Year	Number of Settlers	Acres	Amount of Purchase Money	Ave. Price Per Acre
1875	4	824	$ 39,082	$47.73
1877	2	263	10,303	39.17
1878	10	1,662	67,750	40.16
1879	3	751	25,000	33.28
1880	1	160	6,200	38.75
1883	1	80	3,600	45.00
1885	1	188	4,938	26.26
1886	1	114	4,290	37.71
Total	23	4,042	$161,163	$39.88

In Sangamon County, Scully made but one purchase, but it called for the largest payment and one of the highest per acre prices of any of his contracts. The purchase included 4,161 acres in two townships that had been entered in May, 1836, by John Berry of Bath County, Kentucky, for the estate of Archibald Hamilton in the great speculative boom of the middle thirties. The land remained in the hands of Berry until 1876 when the court ordered that it be conveyed to the

Hamilton heirs with reasonable expenses to the Berrys for their management during the preceding forty years. A year following, in 1877, James C. and George H. Hamilton sold the land to Scully for a total price of $215,297.40, or an average of $51.75 an acre.[60] This was a depression year when the price of land, as well as of commodities, was abnormally low.

About the same time Scully pushed into Livingston County which, in the fifties, had a larger proportion of its area in the hands of speculators than any other Illinois county. Here Solomon Sturges had acquired 40,000 acres, Alexander Campbell 11,000 acres, Bronson Murray 8,120 acres and Michael Sullivant 13,920 acres. In addition the 70,000 acres of Illinois Central land, the 27,000 acres of canal land and the 39,360 acres of "swamp" land had been in part acquired by speculators. Many of these large owners like Murray, Sullivant, Jacob Bunn, William H. Osborn, and Matthew T. Scott, were developing their tracts either with hired labor or through tenants and there early appeared a high proportion of tenancy in the county. The breakup of the Sturges, Campbell, and Osborn estates was favorably regarded by the residents of the county and the financial embarrassment of Sullivant and the sale of his Livingston County land was locally approved. When, however, Scully began buying in the county in 1876 his action was subjected to unfriendly criticism. Only two important purchases were made: one in 1876 when section fourteen in Round Grove Township was bought for $17,920 and the other in 1887 when the Cayuga lands amounting to 1,500 acres were acquired for $45 an acre.[61]

This constitutes the whole of Scully's land purchases aside from 27,000 acres in Louisiana,[62] which do not appear

[60] 43 Mortgage Records, Sangamon County, 563; 61 Deed Records, Sangamon County, 11.

[61] 65 Deed Records, Livingston County, 414; 90 Deed Records, Livingston County, 25

[62] *Chicago Tribune*, Aug. 15, 1937.

to have been bought as farming land, and some tracts in Grundy and Logan counties which he had sold and which he later repurchased, paying in some instances five times what he had sold them for. In the four states of Illinois, Missouri, Kansas, and Nebraska, Scully had amassed an empire of land amounting to 220,000 acres at a cost to him of $1,350,000.

SCULLY'S RENTAL POLICY

Scully's rental policy, while differing sharply from that of most frontier landlords, did not embody the worse features of the Irish system as was later charged.[63] Historians generally are in agreement that one of the chief causes of Ireland's misery was that, outside of Ulster, tenants had no right in improvements on the land. When evicted they had nothing to sell, nothing for which to claim compensation. Hence they abused the land through improper farm practices and erected the very poorest hovels in which to live. Scully even tore down tenant homes as part of the process of making evictions on his Tipperary estates and his tenants had no legal redress.[64] From the very beginning of his leasing in America, however, Scully provided that improvements, such as fences, houses, barns, and other buildings, were to be constructed by the tenant and, more important, that they were to be subject to removal or sale by the tenant. The concession of tenant right was probably necessary in America in order to attract settlers, but Scully's refusal to aid them in getting started, as Scott, Sibley, and other landlords were doing, had the effect of delaying settlement of his land for a decade. It was to farms already somewhat improved or on which the landlord would provide part of the cost of build-

[63] It is not the common practice to record leases as deeds and mortgages are recorded, and yet in the Miscellaneous Records and sometimes in the Deed Records of western counties may be found scattered leases that for one reason or another have been recorded. For examples of Scully leases in 1863, 1884, 1921, and 1932, see the following: I Miscellaneous Record, Logan County, 209; F Miscellaneous Record, Gage County, 610; 133 Grundy Deeds, 56; 19 Miscellaneous Record, Logan County, 172.

[64] Sullivan, *New Ireland*, I:255-56.

ing and fencing that the first persons looking for rents naturally went. Isaac Funk, David Davis, Asahel Gridley, and Jesse Fell were accumulating and improving their thousands of acres of prairie land through hired laborers and tenants, and scores of smaller owners were also improving and offering for rent 80 and 160 acre farms on a share rent basis. In the fifties "For Rent" advertisements were becoming common in the prairie newspapers and once in a while there also appeared such advertisements as: "Wanted. Farm for Rent."[65] Landlords with improved farms were having little difficulty in securing tenants, but Scully's policy of using his available funds for the purchase of land and not for improvements, while permitting him to buy a large acreage, delayed the expected income from the land by a decade and explains in part why the Scully improvements were among the poorest in the West in the frontier period.

Scully's policy with regard to security of tenure was definitely more liberal than was the custom in Ireland. His early leases were for periods of five or six years and with satisfactory management were fairly certain to be renewed. The concession of what amounted to tenant-right encouraged tenant improvements and that in turn made for more contentment on the part of the renter who, so long as he farmed his land properly, paid his rent and taxes at the appropriate time, and did nothing to antagonize Scully or his agents, would be assured of the right of continued occupation. Nevertheless, the exacting rents combined with poor times in the seventies and in the eighties made for restlessness among tenants and frequent moves.

Taxes on the Scully farms were the obligation of tenants. In practice they were paid by the landlord, added to the cash rent and collected at the same time. In this way any danger that the titles would be placed in jeopardy through non-payment of taxes was avoided. There was sound reason for

[65] *Bloomington Pantagraph*, Feb. 8, 1854, Nov. 5, 1856. See also *Prairie Chieftain* (Monticello, Ind.), Dec. 23, 1852.

Scully's tax policy. With such a large group of tenants as he was to have it would have been possible for them to vote, in local tax districts, heavy appropriations for roads, schools, and other public buildings and as loans for local railroads, and to have the burden carried by the landlord. It is only necessary to read frontier newspapers of the time to realize that this was common practice in states like Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, and Nebraska, where large quantities of land were owned by absentees. For example, an advocate of township subsidies to aid railroad construction in Piatt County urged that such a subscription "compels the lordly speculator, who holds thousands of acres of land in our county at such prices as to prevent its settlement and improvement, to bear his just proportion of the burden of building the road. . . . In no other way can these speculators be reached; they have already induced our Legislature to shield them from the burden of school tax, and I say now tax their land to build the Railroad. . . . "[66] Another observer, writing from Thayer County, Nebraska, said: "The speculators are getting tired of building school houses, so that they are offering their lands for sale very low and on reasonable terms."[67] By requiring that the tenants should pay the taxes and all local assessments, Scully not only made certain that they would, as a group, be cautious in voting for expensive buildings or road construction programs but that they would constantly exert a moderating influence to keep costs of local government and taxes at the lowest possible level. This tended to produce within the Scully area poorer roads and inferior school facilities than were being provided elsewhere.

In the twentieth century the farm management practices in operation on the Scully farms are enlightened and progressive. The requirements that clover shall be planted on every part of the land once in four years, that corn shall not be planted more than two years in succession, and

[66] *Piatt Independent* (Monticello, Ill.), March 21, 1866.
[67] *Piatt Republican*, Feb. 5, 1874.

that a proper system of rotation shall be followed to make sure that soil depletion does not occur are well known. The supervision given to the tenants assures better farm practices than are generally followed on owner-operated farms. Such controls may at times irk the tenant but they certainly work to the mutual advantage of landlord and tenant. Had Scully attempted to include such requirements in his early leases he would have been laughed to scorn by frontier farmers who had no idea that the prairie soils of Illinois could be exhausted by planting them to corn year after year. Nor was it expedient for Scully to prescribe in the early period, as is done today, that "all burrs, thistles and other weeds and willow bushes" shall be destroyed. Good practice requires that farmers, whether tenants or owners, do these things, but experience was to show that tenants were inclined to neglect them.

The appearance of weeds and brush in the fields as well as in the hedgerows was characteristic of tenant farms. A Livingston County paper complained that there was such a high turnover among tenants on the neighboring farms that the burrs were rarely eradicated. It urged that a law be adopted to compel the owners to have weeds destroyed.[68] A campaign for compulsory weed eradication was directed at tenant-operated farms, particularly the Scully farms. It was stated:

> Rented farms can always be identified by the dilapidated state of the buildings, the tumble-down fences, the mammoth crop of weeds, the unthrifty general appearance—the air of desolation and destruction . . . all too flagrant not to be observed. The rented farm is free to be plucked in every possible manner. . . . The whole object too, is to secure the utmost drain on the soil—getting everything off without returning any of the fertilizers to make it productive.[69]

It was argued that Scully's policies attracted to his land "the very poorest of farmers, who only take Scully's land

[68] *Pontiac Free Trader*, Jan. 10, 1879; *Pontiac Sentinel*, Sept. 2, 1881.
[69] *Farm, Herd and Home* in *Pontiac Free Trader and Observer*, Nov. 23, 1883.

with a view of leaving it just as soon as they can" after skimming the cream and leaving the land much depreciated.[70]

In Logan County it was pointed out that the practice of planting corn on the Scully land year after year without any rotation and the continued neglect of weeds was not only impoverishing the land, which was overrun with weeds, but was having a deplorable effect upon surrounding farms. On few farms in Illinois in the nineteenth century could it be said that careful methods of cultivation and husbandry were employed, and Scully's tenants and their farm practices were probably no worse than those on most other rented farms. But attention was focused upon Scully because of the unpopularity of his cash rent policy and the fact that he was an alien who was contributing little to the development of the state.

The most characteristic feature of the Scully leases was the cash rent. Although by no means unknown on the frontier the share or grain rent was more usual. Some landlords, Matthew Scott for example, rented for a stipulated amount of wheat or corn per acre. More common and certainly more thoroughly approved was the share rent which, according to the *Vermilion County Press* of July 28, 1858, was generally based on one of three fairly standard rates: the proprietor who furnished all the stock, seed, and equipment and paid the taxes received two-thirds of the produce, the tenant who furnished everything likewise received two-thirds, and if the stock was jointly owned and other expenses were equally divided the landlord and tenant divided the crops equally.

A principal advantage of the share rent was that, unlike the cash rent, it did not have to be adjusted upward or downward with fluctuating prices and rising land values. On a cash rent basis land generally brought $1.00 an acre in the fifties and sixties, $2.00 an acre in the seventies, and $3.00 and $4.00 an acre in the eighties and nineties and $8.00 and

[70] *Pontiac Free Trader and Observer*, April 8, 1887.

$10.00 an acre at times in the twentieth century. When land values were rising fairly rapidly, upward adjustments of rent were to be expected, but they frequently led to outcries of rack renting when instituted by Scully, regardless of the fact that the new rent might still provide a small return on the sale value of the land. Furthermore, there is evidence that in the nineteenth century Scully was not inclined to be lenient when crops were poor or prices low. Today the Scully abatements are well known and understood in the Middle West and few there are who would complain that rent adjustments have been inequitable, which is tantamount to saying that the policy of the family is more sensitive to the needs of the tenants than it was in the nineteenth century.

Somewhat less supervision is necessary under the cash rent system than under the share rent, and perhaps it avoids some of the suspicion and ill will that has characterized landlord-tenant relations in certain areas. But to make certain that he received his rent, Scully found it advisable to require rent payments before the crop was sold—certain to involve the tenant in great hardship especially as he could not borrow upon his crop. He also informed shippers and buyers in the vicinity of his land that his lien on the crop of his tenants came first under the terms of the lease and under the tenant laws and that he could and would recover damages from anyone who bought grain before his rent was paid.[71]

No feature of the landlords' policies in the seventies and eighties was more disliked than the cash rent. The drop in agricultural prices after 1873 was not reflected in land values to the same degree and was not followed by rent adjustments. Not only were prices low but weather conditions were unfavorable for corn in 1876, 1877, and 1878 in much of the prairie section and there were partial crop failures or light crops. Farmers were caught between the upper millstone of rigid costs such as taxes, freight rates, rent or interest, and

[71] *Chicago Tribune* in *Bloomington Pantagraph*, March 21, 1887.

the nether millstone of diminishing income. Share renters and mortgaged owners, of course, were seriously affected. Many mortgages were foreclosed and the previous owners either depressed into tenancy or were forced to emigrate elsewhere. The cash tenants at the same time were actually being asked to pay higher rents, despite the trying times. In the neighboring state of Indiana it was said that work in cities was so scarce that laborers were anxiously looking for farms to rent, even though the "extortionate and heartless" landlords were charging as high as $4.00 and $5.00 an acre.[72] Such rents, while high, were not unknown in Illinois.[73]

TENANT UNREST

Discontent and unrest began to appear among tenant farmers and were reflected in the rural press. For example, in 1876 the *Farmer City Journal* published a "pitiful story" of two cash renters who had leased a farm for $700, did their best to make a success of it, but, failing, were faced with the loss of their crops, horses, and farm utensils. Finally a compromise was reached by which they paid $200 and gave up their entire crops for the year. The writer said:

> What a sad comment this and similar cases is upon the cash rent system in such a variable climate as central Illinois. Paying $200 for the privilege of toiling all season with three teams, the wear and tear of farm machinery, board and incidental expenses, then to crown all, donate the crop and have nothing left.[74]

The *Pontiac Sentinel* of August 10, 1876, warned that few renters were able to meet the terms of their leases without beggaring themselves and their families and many of them were abandoning their farms. Tension between landlord and

[72] *Indiana Farmer*, Vol. II, No. 22 (June 3, 1876), p. 5; *Edinburgh Scotsman* in *Indiana Farmer*, Vol. XII, No. 36 (Sept. 8, 1877), p. 6.

[73] In 1870 the University of Illinois, which had come into possession of the Griggs farm, was renting seven tracts at prices ranging from $2.80 to $5.00 an acre. *Third Annual Report of the Board of Trustees of the Illinois Industrial University* (Springfield, 1870), 115. The McFee farm near Bloomington was advertised for rent in 1876 for a cash rent of $5.00 an acre. *Bloomington Pantagraph*, Feb. 8, 1876.

[74] Quoted in the *Piatt County Herald*, Nov. 29, 1876.

tenant reached serious proportions. In one case a landlord was attacked and badly mauled by an outraged and disillusioned tenant.[75] Scully, whose three hundred-odd Illinois farms were now tenanted on a cash rent basis, came under attack perhaps for the first time in his experience in America. The *Chicago Times* wrote of his "very exacting terms and high rates" which were being continued despite the lightness of the crops in recent years and the arrears into which tenants had fallen. When Scully announced that he would "allow no tenant to sell any of his crop of this year until the rent has been paid up in full" the tenants became highly indignant. They held a protest meeting at which a committee was appointed to visit the Governor to ask him to intercede for them. "Scully's actions savor much of the tyranny of the absentee landlords of Ireland," said the *Chicago Times*. "All over central Illinois a strong feeling is growing up against such immense estates, especially when operated by persons outside the State."[76] Another mass meeting of renters was held at Saybrook in February, 1879, at which resolutions were adopted declaring cash rent unjust and discriminating in favor of the landlord. The participants pledged themselves to pay grain or share rents only, unless the landlords would lease their farms for a "cash rent of $2.00 per acre and that only for cultivated lands."[77] It was about this time that a measure was introduced into the Illinois legislature at the request of those who found Scullyism repugnant to American principles, to impose an extraordinary tax on absentee and alien owners of land.[78]

The tenant unrest in the prairie counties of Illinois, which came to a head in the late seventies, failed to win political attention for the problems of the renter. Illinois was being immensely stirred by agrarian unrest that was di-

[75] *Pontiac Sentinel*, Oct. 31, 1877.
[76] Quoted in *Pontiac Free Trader*, Dec. 20, 1878.
[77] *Pontiac Sentinel*, Feb. 12, 1879.
[78] Inter-State Pub. Co., pub., *History of Logan County, Illinois* (Chicago, 1886), 368.

rected against the malpractices of the railroads and the deflationary policies of the federal government. But Grangerism was a landowners' movement and did not concern itself with the problems of the tenant. Being the poorest educated and most foreign of the rural population, the tenants were unable to dramatize their grievances sufficiently to win the attention of the agrarian parties. In fact, tenants were dealt an additional blow during the height of their unrest by the action of the legislature in authorizing landlords, under certain circumstances, to "institute proceedings by distress" before rent was due.[79] This legalized a practice which Scully in effect had required his tenants to sanction. Their cries being ignored, the tenants had an outlet still open to them: that was to abandon their farms and to migrate to the new frontier in central and western Kansas and Nebraska.

When the discontent of the tenant farmers was at its height the Burlington Railroad seized the occasion to advertise its Nebraska land in the papers of central Illinois.[80] Young men were urged not to rent in Illinois when they could own in Nebraska; "Life is too short," the advertisement stated, "to be wasted on a rented farm." About the same time the Santa Fe Railroad, in advertising its Kansas land, claimed that there were "no lands owned by speculations" in the area of its grant, in contrast to the huge acreage of speculator-owned land in Illinois.[81] Discontent and the attractions of a newly developing frontier induced many thousands of tenants, as well as unsuccessful farm owners, to join the western trek. Farmers operating tracts smaller than 100 acres were finding it increasingly difficult to compete with those working larger units of land and in the decade of the eighties 17,000 of them were forced to give up their homes to their more successful competitors.[82] In Ford County, where tenancy and large-

[79] Act of May 21, 1877, in *Laws of Illinois*, 1877, p. 129.
[80] *Pontiac Sentinel*, May 21, 1879.
[81] *Piatt Republican*, Feb. 5, 1874.
[82] The census of 1890 reported 17,087 fewer farms of less than 100 acres than were reported in 1880. *United States Census*, 1890, *Statistics of Agriculture*, 116.

scale farms predominated more than in any other county in the state, a series of meetings was being held as early as 1872 by a group which was organized as a homestead colony and was planning to move westward.[83] Six years later another group of 121 people was organized, consisting mostly of renters from Ford and Vermilion counties, who were going as a colony to Kansas with their seventeen carloads of freight.[84]

Throughout the prairie counties a similar movement of population was under way. Renters, dispossessed owners who had been unable to meet the high interest charges on their mortgages, and agricultural laborers who had failed to get the much desired piece of land, all were moving, the goal being Kansas, Nebraska, Iowa, and Missouri. In the decade of the seventies 175,000 people who were born in Illinois migrated to these four states in addition to many thousands of others who came to Illinois from the East or from Europe and then moved farther west in search of land. Many were to succeed in the new country but others were to find conditions in the younger states not materially different save in degree from those in Illinois. If they tried life anew in Marion, Butler, Marshall, or Dickinson counties, Kansas, or in Nuckolls and Gage counties, Nebraska, they found the best land in private hands, owned by the railroads who were looking for purchasers at high prices, or held by William Scully and other large landlords who were looking for tenants on the same conditions as applied in Illinois though at lower rents. Emigrants from Illinois, arriving in the humid section of Kansas, were faced with notices, "Wanted: Farm to Rent," indicating that their search for land was again to be frustrated.[85] Frequently it was the experience of these landseekers that no matter how far they proceeded in their search they were certain to be anticipated by the railroad

[83] *Paxton Record*, Aug. 1, 1872.
[84] *Paxton Weekly Standard*, Feb. 9, 1878.
[85] *Peabody Gazette* (Kansas), July 21, 1876.

:he speculator, or the frontier landlord. When the futility of :heir search for land which they could not own became ap-ɔarent, their feelings were crystallized into keen resentment ıgainst those who had forestalled them.

Western attitudes toward large-scale land speculation ınd frontier landlords were not always consistent. Absentee ɔwners were thoroughly disapproved of but the resident ɔwner generally escaped criticism. "You are a curse to our :ountry," said an indignant writer of nonresident landown-:rs of Livingston County.[86] Careless cropping methods, the ɔne-crop system, poor housing accommodations, inadequate 'ences, the existence of weeds and brush, and poor roads and chool facilities were all blamed on the absentee owner, not ɔn the renter.

THE ATTACK ON SCULLYISM

William Scully was not only an absentee landlord but .lso an alien who had no intention of settling in Illinois or, or that matter, in any part of the United States. As if that vere not enough of a challenge to frontier mores, Scully re-used to improve his own land but waited for tenants to do hat, and the nature and quality of their improvements were ıot to win for him good feeling. A fourth count against ;cully was his system of cash renting that seemed to many vho were accustomed to share renting an alien institution. 'inally, at a time when powerful monopolies were extend-ng their control over many fields in America, it was natural hat the huge land-buying program of Scully should arouse ndignation. One of his purchases, 1,500 acres in Livingston :ounty, acquired in 1887, was particularly ill-timed, coming s it did when anti-Scully feeling was strong in Illinois and ⟨ansas. It was called "very unfortunate" for the community vhich was certain to be "injured generally" by it.[87]

Resentment against the Scully leasing policies accom-

[86] *Pontiac Sentinel*, Jan. 15, 1886.
[87] *Pontiac Free Trader and Observer*, April 8, 1887.

plished nothing in the seventies but a decade later it ha become deeper and more dangerous in all four states in whic the Scully farm lands were located. Journalistic vituperatio of the rankest kind was heaped upon Scully, antialien land owner bills directed at him were passed by three of the state and in the legislatures of these states and in Washingto Scullyism became a major issue, the principal question bein how best to strike at it.

Westerners were troubled that Scully was deriving handsome income from their area and paying no taxes, sinc his leases required his tenants to assume this obligation. Ha it been argued that the total rates charged tenants were d termined in part by the productivity of the land and in pa by the demand for rent land, and that Scully's rents plu taxes could not have been materially higher than those oth landlords were charging, the westerners would not have bee convinced. In their opinion Scully was evading taxation b requiring his tenants to pay assessments for him, thereb adding to their burdens. The people of Logan County b came so incensed against Scully that they tried to tax h rent roll. This he met by contending that the rent roll wa owned in England, and, therefore, was not taxable in Ill nois.[88] On somewhat different grounds the state Suprem Court invalidated the tax.[89]

Failing in their efforts to tax Scully's income or re rolls, the anti-Scully forces united in a move to make alie ownership of land illegal. From 1883 to 1888 small-tow newspapers of the prairie counties published editorial aft editorial condemning alien and absentee ownership of lar and demanding either that future alien acquisitions shou be made illegal or that all alien-owned land should be fo feited to the states. Successive purchases of land by Scull who kept doggedly at his task of increasing his domai were given wide publicity and added fuel to the fire. Soon th

[88] *Pontiac Free Trader*, Feb. 10, 1882.
[89] *Scully* v. *The People*, 104 Ill. 350.

Bloomington Pantagraph, the *Chicago Tribune*, and other influential papers—even the *New York Times*—joined in the cry against Scully.[90] In Kansas and Nebraska similar journalistic campaigns were under way, the principal differences being that in these two states they were marked by a greater degree of scurrility.[91] Papers that were slow to join the hue and cry were called Scully organs. They soon found that few issues were more popular at the time than the attack upon William Scully and the demand for legislation to curb or end alien ownership, and before long they, too, were making pointed remarks about the undemocratic character of tenancy and the danger of land monopoly.

The newspaper attacks followed a common pattern in their onslaught on Scullyism and alien ownership. Stress was laid on the un-American character of tenancy—despite the fact that numerous westerners owned large tracts of land they were renting to tenants—on the fact that taxes had to be paid by tenants, and above all on the cash rent feature. The term "rack renting" was frequently bandied about, though there is no important evidence to show that Scully's rents were higher than those of other landlords. The safeguards that Scully included in his leases to make sure that his tenants paid their rents were called outrageous. That they were comprehensive and were sometimes harshly enforced is doubtless true, but any person who reads a lease of yesterday or today will be struck by the realization that it was designed—like the modern installment contract—to protect the landlord or the vendor, not the renter or the purchaser. The Scully tenants were described as ignorant foreigners, Bohemians, Scandinavians, and Poles who "are not a class who are desirable neighbors," a "dreary and woebegone" lot of "scarecrow

[90] *Chicago Tribune*, March 11, 1887; *Chicago Inter Ocean*, Feb. 16, 1887; *Bloomington Pantagraph*, March 21, April 2, May 26, 1887; *Lincoln Herald*, March 24, April 7, June 9, 1887; *Paxton Record*, April 21, 1887; *Pontiac Free Trader and Observer*, April 8, 1887; *Princeton Republican* in *Pontiac Sentinel*, May 13, 1887; *New York Times*, April 18, 1887.

[91] Leadership in the fight against Scully in Kansas was provided by the *Marion Register*, published in Marion, and in Nebraska by the *Gage County Democrat* of Beatrice.

tenants" who "are in a state of absolute serfdom under hi heartless alien rule, mostly 'transients' raising nothing bu corn, year after year, from the same ground." The Scull lands were described as the "most forlorn-looking estate i Illinois" with dwellings that were "a miserable lot of shan ties"—mere sheds, bearing no paint and having little glass Constant cropping of corn had so impoverished the land, i was argued, "that it breeds burrs and weeds, the seeds c which are carried to surrounding farms. . . ." The poverty stricken tenants were unable to meet their taxes and publi improvements on "Scully land," it was said, were the wors to be found in the entire state of Illinois; roads were ex ecrable, schoolhouses were as poor as the tenant dwelling and the school term was limited to five months.[92]

That there was a good deal of truth to these accusation cannot be denied, but neither can it be denied that much th same kind of thing could be said of tenancy on other estate True, efforts were made to distinguish between "bad" lan lords and "good" landlords who had "good" tenants tha employed "good" farm practices, had "good" improv ments, and enjoyed "good" treatment, and were prosperou Among these good landlords were John D. Gillett who 16,000 acre estate in Logan and Sangamon counties entitle him to rank among the leading frontier landlords, Davi Littler who had some twenty or more farms in Logan, Sa gamon, and Piatt counties, Bronson Murray whose 10,0 acre estate in Livingston and LaSalle counties, now som what reduced, was said to have "an excellent lot of tenants, and Bernard Stuyé, the famous historian of Illinois, on who estate in Piatt County were said to be built "the model tena houses of the county."[93] Likewise, the tenant policies on th Sibley and Funk farms were generally approved, but th

[92] *Chicago Tribune*, March 11, 1887; *Lincoln Herald*, March 24, 1887; *Bloomington Par graph*, March 21, 1887; *Pontiac Free Trader and Observer*, April 8, 1887; *History of Logan Cou* 368.

[93] *Pontiac Sentinel*, Aug. 22, 1877; Piatt, *History of Piatt County*, 452.

acob Bunn farm of 2,500 acres, the Buckingham farm of ,000 acres, and the Oliver farm of 3,000 acres in Livingston ounty were unfavorably regarded.[94] The landlord who built omes for tenants, fenced and drained the land, and used the ncome from it for further improvements, or who lived in the eighborhood of his estate won commendation. That Scully nstituted an elaborate and comprehensive system of tile rainage on his Grundy County lands in the eighties seemed o make no difference to residents in the neighborhood. He vas an alien who spent his income elsewhere, extorted rack ents from his tenants, and kept them in poverty while cast- ng a blighting influence over the counties in which his land vas located. "The Lord Scully tribe of aliens will have to o—so far as Illinois is concerned," said the *Princeton Re- ublican* while the *Pontiac Free Trader and Observer* urged that peedy action be taken to prevent Scully from buying any ore land in the United States.[95]

ANTIALIEN LANDLORD LEGISLATION

The campaign against alien landlords was associated vith the demand for the forfeiture of unearned railroad land rants and for the withdrawal of the public lands from large- cale purchasing. As early as 1884 all national parties had oined in the fight against alien landlordism, the clearest tatement being made by the Union Labor Party in 1888:

> We believe the earth was made for the people, and not to enable an lle aristocracy to subsist, through rents, upon the toil of the industrious, nd that corners in land are as bad as corners in food, and that those who re not residents or citizens should not be allowed to own lands in the nited States.[96]

Until into the nineties the cry against alien landlordism s well as unearned railroad land grants was taken up by all

[94] *Pontiac Sentinel*, Jan. 9, 1878.

[95] *Princeton Republican* in *Pontiac Sentinel*, May 13, 1887; *Pontiac Free Trader and Observer*, pril 8, 1887.

[96] *Marshall County Democrat* (Marysville, Kan.), Sept. 8, 1887; Edward Stanwood, *A istory of the Presidency from 1788 to 1897* (Boston, 1898), I:461.

agrarian parties and the demand for confiscation of alien lands and for forfeiture of land grants was vigorously pressed. The platforms of the Farmers' Alliance and the People's or Populist Party stressed these two issues as much as the silver question, the Northern Alliance in 1889 actually giving first place to them. Despite this condemnation of alien ownership and the demand for its end and the flurry of legislation that it precipitated, historians of agrarian movements, without exception, have neglected it and centered their theme around that of silver and the malpractices of railroads. They fail to recognize that fundamentally, but not very clearly, this western discontent was directed at the forces which were making for tenancy and the disappearance of the small farm owner.

The campaign against alien landlords reached its climax in 1887 when the farmers of the West were aflame with hatred of Scullyism, "land monopoly," absentee and alien ownership of land, and the land-grant railroads. In the newspapers, the state legislatures, and farmers' meetings, William Scully was held up to excoriation as the archetype of alien landlord whose rental policies made mere serfs of his tenants. A barrage of legislation directed chiefly at Scully was adopted. On June 16, two such measures received the approval of the Governor of Illinois and became law. The first prohibited nonresident aliens from acquiring real estate though it did not and could not require, as the most bitter opponents of Scully demanded, that alien-owned lands should be forfeited to the state. The second act was designed to prevent alien landlords from requiring tenants to pay the taxes assessed upon the land they rented.[97] At the same time the anti-Scully agitation in Kansas and Nebraska produced results. The Nebraska act prohibiting aliens from acquiring land was similar to that of Illinois. Kansas, where the most violent feelings were aroused against Scully, contented itself after considerable legislative maneuverings with proposing an amendment to

[97] *Laws of Illinois*, 1887, 4-8.

:he state constitution that would permit legislation to pro-
ıibit alien ownership of land. Wisconsin, Minnesota, and
Colorado likewise adopted laws to prevent alien ownership.
Similar laws were adopted by Iowa in 1888, Idaho in 1891,
ınd Missouri in 1895.[98]

To shut Scully and other nonresident aliens out of the
erritories, Congress in 1887 adopted an act "to restrict the
)wnership of real estate in the Territories to American cit-
zens."[99] The most vigorous supporter of the antialien land-
)wning bill was Lewis E. Payson, representative in Congress
)f a number of the prairie counties of Illinois including Liv-
ngston where Scully at the very moment was engaged in en-
arging his holdings. Payson was given active aid by the
Pontiac Sentinel which called the bill of "vital importance"
o the country.[100] Never before in American history had such
. barrage of legislation been directed so largely at one man
s were the acts of nine states (including Indiana whose law
)f 1885 anticipated the others) and the federal government.[101]

Cynics there were, at the time, who took pleasure in
leriding the agrarian radicals and reformers who were spon-
oring both the antialien landowning legislation and a com-
)rehensive and thorough reform of the entire public land
ystem. They called the reformers demagogues, accused them
)f seizing upon a popular issue like Scullyism and riding it

[98] *Session Laws of Nebraska*, 1887, 568; *Session Laws of Kansas*, 1887, 340; *Session Laws of Wisconsin*, 1887, 536; *Session Laws of Minnesota*, 1887, 323; *Session Laws of Colorado*, 1887, 24; *Session Laws of Iowa*, 1888, 125; *Session Laws of Idaho*, 1891, 108; *Session Laws of Missouri*, 1895, 207.

[99] *U. S. Statutes at Large*, XXIV: 476.

[100] *Pontiac Sentinel*, May 28, June 4, 1886.

[101] The federal act of March 3, 1887, was clearly the result of anti-Scully agitation in Illinois, Nebraska, and Kansas and the feeling in other plains states that the great volume of land then being acquired by British cattle interests was dangerous for America. In 1886, when the antialien landowning bill was being considered by the House Committee on the Judiciary, it was first reported unfavorably with, however, a minority report urging its adoption in which it was said that if enacted it would "prevent any more such abuses as that of Mr. Scully, who resides in England, and is a subject of the Queen, but owns 90,000 acres in the State of Illinois, occupied by hundreds of tenants, mostly ignorant foreigners, from whom he receives, as rent, $200,000 per annum. . . . This alien non-resident ownership will . . . lead to a system of landlordism incompatible with the best interests and free institutions of the United States. . . . A considerable number of the immigrants arriving in this country are to become tenants and herdsmen on the vast possessions of these foreign lords under contracts made and entered into before they sail for our shores." *House Report*, No. 1951, 49 Cong., 1 Sess., April 27, 1886.

for all it was worth while neglecting more fundamental is
sues. They pointed out that the western radicals were pro
posing to close the public domain to speculators when th
last of the desirable land was gone and to stop alien pur
chases of land when foreign capital was already tending t
go elsewhere. They showed that while the radicals were de
manding the forfeiture of the Scully lands, none of the bill
that were being seriously considered and had a chance o
passage threatened any such drastic action. All the legisla
tion was likely to accomplish at this late date was to sto
further purchasing by Scully and then only if he failed t
become an American citizen.

One of the most effective of these cynics was a Scotc
alien—George Campbell—who objected to the measures be
ing considered by the Illinois legislature on the ground tha
they did not strike at the real causes of tenant unrest. "I
Scullyism exists it exists because it is not inconsistent wit
existing laws, and there is no proposal now being made t
modify the laws in any way, beyond this Alien Land Bill."
If the legislature was in earnest in wishing to end Scullyism
and rack renting, argued Campbell, it should adopt reform
similar to those that Gladstone was introducing into Irelan
which provided for fair rent, freedom to sell tenant-mad
improvements, and security of tenure.[102]

Another criticism that was made of the antialien land
owning bills was that they could easily be evaded by the for
eign owners' taking out American citizenship. What wa
needed, the *Bureau County Republican* argued, was an amend
ment to the constitution that would "positively prohibi
any one man from holding over one thousand acres of tillabl
soil."[103] In Illinois no one seriously pushed such proposals
The legislature was in no mood to deal with tenancy in
constructive way but was blindly striking at Scully, possibl

[102] *Paxton Record*, May 26, 1887.
[103] *Bureau County Republican* (Princeton, Ill.) in *Pontiac Sentinel*, March 5, 1886.

to soothe its conscience for its failure to solve the problems of the tenants. Dozens of landlords had by 1887 attained a state of great affluence in Illinois, among them the Governor, Richard J. Oglesby, and David Littler, a prominent member of the legislature. Another, David Davis, who had died just the preceding year, had been justice of the United States Supreme Court, senator from Illinois, and prominently considered for the presidency. The interests of the landlords were not to be disturbed.

The attack upon Scully had its effect, however, in bringing to an end the purchasing of land by him in Illinois, as well as in Kansas and Nebraska. To meet the provisions of the antialien landowning acts, which denied aliens the right of permanently holding land they acquired by inheritance, Scully took out citizenship in the United States so that his heirs who likewise would be citizens could retain his estate intact. This action was taken in the national capital and there is no evidence that he ever contemplated establishing a permanent residence in Illinois or in any other state where his lands were located. The Illinois act to prevent landlords from requiring tenants to pay taxes, of course, made necessary revising the terms of the leases, but it may be doubted that it resulted in any reduction in the total cost of the land to the tenant. It did, however, serve to remove from Illinois one of the major grievances that the public had against Scully.

THE PATTERN OF PRAIRIE LANDLORDISM

For better or for worse, landlordism and tenancy were well established in Illinois and in parts of Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska, and Iowa by 1890. Contributing heavily to this end were the land speculators like Riggs, Sturges, and Grigg, and the frontier landlords like Sullivant, Alexander, Scott, Allerton, Sibley, and Scully. In the counties where their holdings were concentrated were found the highest percentage of farms operated by tenants. Ford County, which con-

tained the Sullivant, later the Sibley estate, had the highest proportion of farms operated by tenants, 54 per cent as compared with the state average of 34 per cent. Logan County, in which Scully had 225 farms and where many more were owned by Gillett, Littler, and others, had 52 per cent of its farms tenant-operated. Mason County, where the McHarry and Herget estates—containing respectively 5,000 and 9,200 acres—were situated, had one-half of its farms in tenant hands. The county fourth highest in tenant-operated farms was Christian, where the 22,000 acre Malhiot estate lay, much of which was by 1890 in the hands of the Vandeveer family. Next came Piatt County, where the Allerton and Scott estates were located, and Grundy County where Scully owned 70 or 80 farms, the Collins family 30 to 35 farms, the Holderman family 16 farms, and where the Hoge family and other large owners had many more. Similarly in Marion and Butler counties, Kansas, and Gage and Nuckolls counties, Nebraska, where Scully had between 600 and 700 farms, were found a high proportion of farms operated by tenants.

It may be argued that landlordism and tenancy were necessary frontier institutions in the prairie counties where the costs of beginning farming were so much higher than in wooded areas farther east. Certain it is that the capital required to buy land, especially from speculators or from the Illinois Central Railroad, import lumber for buildings, erect or set out fences, ditch, drain, and later tile the wet areas, break the tough prairie sod and seed it to corn, and purchase supplies until the first harvest was ready, together with the extortionate interest rates charged on borrowed capital on the frontier, made it difficult for many settlers to start as actual owners without accumulating a heavy debt. Funk, Scott, Sibley, and Allerton, with their ample resources, could accomplish what poor settlers could not, at least not without long delays. That they were influential in bringing the prairie into cultivation somewhat earlier than small owners

could was their service to the state, but tenancy was the result and the cost.

On the other hand, on the Scully estates, where the landlord made few or no improvements except for tiling and that only after the land had already been tenanted, the renters had to provide their own capital for buildings, fences, ditches, and prairie breaking. True, their improvements were wretchedly poor as were the tenants themselves, but the fact remains that here was a substantial group of settlers who brought some 38,000 acres into cultivation with the investment of what little capital they may have brought with them. The only thing they did not have to provide was the $200 with which to buy the quarter-section from the government. Does this suggest that small-farm development by owner-operators might have occurred in the prairies had not the large speculators and frontier landlords anticipated them and got possession of most of the prairie land? It cannot, of course, be claimed that tenancy would thereby have been kept out of the prairies.

The swift rise of tenancy is one of the most striking features of the history of the American prairies. Careful observers had no occasion to be shocked in 1880 at the publication of the first census statistics showing that this rise for tenancy dated almost from the beginning of white settlement. A government land policy that permitted large-scale purchasing by speculators bears its responsibility for this early appearance and rapid growth of tenancy. The rise in land values that set in during and after the Civil War, and, of course, the increasing rents made it difficult for laborers and tenants to acquire ownership while the increasing capital demands of prairie agriculture and the unfavorable prices that produce brought in the seventies and again in the early nineties tended to depress many farm owners into the tenant class. The agricultural ladder from laborer through tenant to owner doubtless worked for many, as evidenced by the

biographical sketches that appear in the numerous county histories of Illinois. But it must be remembered that these sketches are generally of those residents who had succeeded, who were now proudly describing their accumulations of property despite all adversity. At a later time the ladder seemed to work among children of owner-operators who started as laborers and worked up to the stage of mortgaged owners. On the other hand, the ladder worked in reverse for many others who, unable to meet the mortgage interest, lost their farms to the banker, the insurance company, or the local money lender.

Nowhere in America at the end of the century was tenancy more deeply rooted than in the prairies. While critics in the twentieth century were to find that prairie landlordism frequently provided expert farm management and the best of farm practices that were not always found on owner-operated farms, they were to confess that the old dream of owning one's farm was coming to be practically unattainable to a large proportion of prairie residents.

A FRENCHMAN IN AMERICA

Two Chapters from Ampère's Promenade en Amérique, 1851

TRANSLATED BY MILDRED H. CREW

OF the Europeans who visited this country in the century immediately following our Revolutionary War, no small number felt the urge to write books on what they saw in America and what they thought of the new world, a custom "more honor'd in the breach than in observance." In perusing these volumes, one is impressed with the fact that although many of these visitors to our patient shores found little to admire in America, they did not hesitate to express at least sympathy, if not enthusiasm, for the forces of democracy at work in the infant nation.

Of the French visitors to America, Alexis de Tocqueville (1805-1859) is the best known. He made a tour in this country in 1831 which was a prelude to the publication of his famous work, *Démocratie en Amérique* (1835), the first European exposition of the United States government. To De Tocqueville belongs the distinction of having "discovered" political America.

One of De Tocqueville's close friends was Jean-Jacques Ampère (1800-1864) who followed the former's footsteps to America twenty years later and observed the custom of writing down impressions gained in the new world. This Ampère came from excellent stock. His grandfather, Jean-Jacques Ampère the elder, was a retired merchant in Lyons at the outbreak of the French Revolution. When the city of Lyons vainly opposed the Terrorist government, J.-J. Ampère the

elder paid for his patriotism with his head. Henry James indicates the character of this victim of the guillotine in his essay, "The Two Ampères" (1878):

> In prison, before his death, he wrote his wife a letter, which we regret not having the space to quote; it gives one a better opinion of human nature. "Do not speak to Josephine," he says at the end, "of her father's misfortune; take good care that she does not know it; as for my son, there is nothing I do not expect from him. So long as you possess them and they possess you, embrace each other in memory of me. I leave my heart to all of you." For so pure an old stoic as this to say on the edge of the scaffold that there was nothing he did not expect from his only son, left the sole support of two desolate women—this was a great deal.

André-Marie Ampère (1775-1836), for whom his father's expectations were unlimited, was the Ampère of permanent distinction—if there be such a thing. Born in the year preceding the American Revolution, he shortly became a member of that brilliant group composed of such men as Fresnel, Biot, Lagrange, Laplace, Arago, and Lavoisier. His name, like that of Volta, Ohm, Boycott, Diesel and a few others, is now written in lower case: for it was this Ampère who laid the foundation of the science of electrodynamics, and gave it a crystalline, mathematical form. What could be more appropriate than to name the unit of current ampere?

To return to *our* Ampère, his tastes led him early into the study of history and philology, though his father had wished him to be at least a first-class playwright if not a mathematician. Impecunious though he was, he appears to have been able to satisfy his passion for travel. In an extended tour of northern Europe, begun in 1827, he became a tireless traveler and an ardent student of the folk-literature of Germany and Scandinavia. Upon his return he was appointed to the faculty of the newly-founded Athenaeum at Marseilles. Then it was that he began to frequent literary salons where he met such stars of the French literary galaxy of the nineteenth century as Chateaubriand and Sainte-Beuve. The Collège de France called him to its chair of French literature in 1833.

In 1841, on an extended tour into Egypt, Greece, and Italy, in company with Prosper Mérimée and others, he made a study of antiquities, mastering the while any language he needed as a tool, even Chinese and Sanskrit. Hieroglyphics left him undaunted. The French Academy elected him to their membership in 1848.

Ampère's last voyage took him to America; upon his return he devoted most of his time, until his death in Pau, to his masterpiece, *L'Histoire romaine a Rome* (1862-1864). Sailing from Southampton on August 27, 1851, he visited New York, Boston, and Lowell, and then went across Canada to Detroit, and as far west as Chicago. Four years later an account of his observations in the new world was published in Paris, in two volumes, under the title, *Promenade en Amérique; Etats-Unis—Cuba—Mexique*. Several revisions of this work were published within a few years of its first appearance. In 1874 a one-volume edition was issued. This publication, which contains the narrative of Ampère's travels in the United States and Canada only, is the one from which the following translation was made.

CHAPTER XIII

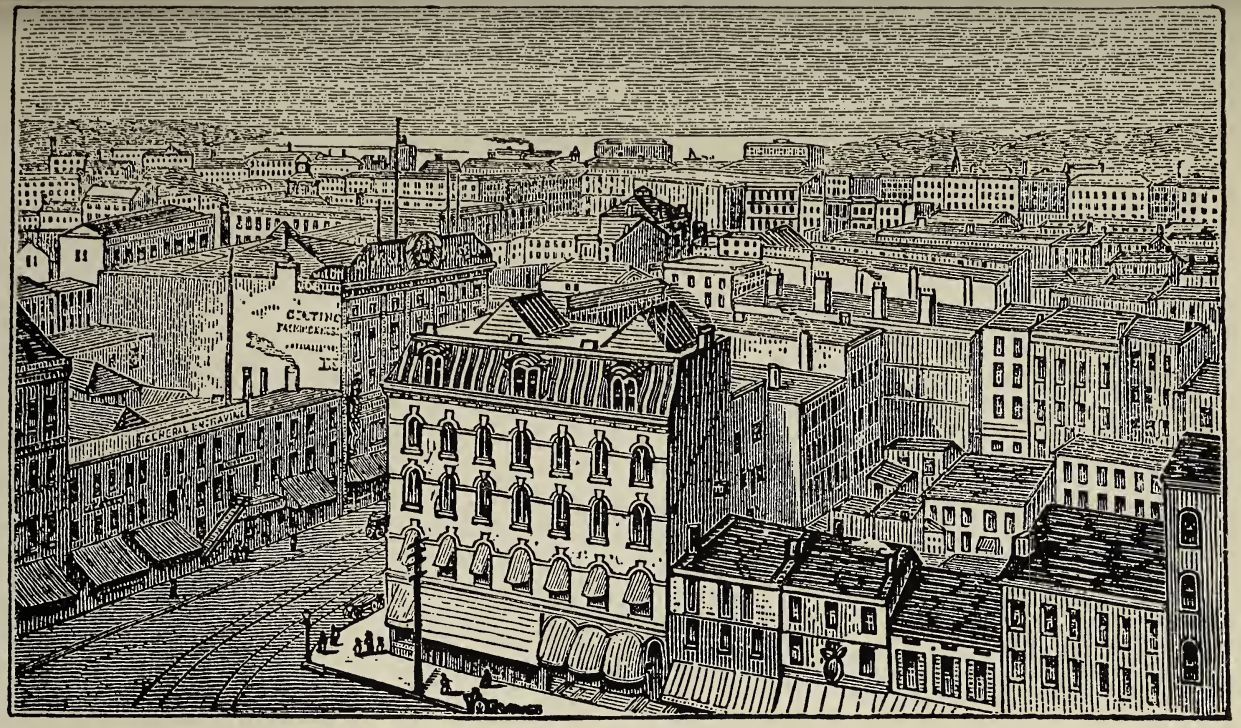
A city on the edge of a prairie. History of Chicago. View of Lake Michigan. Mr. Ogden. The Indians.

I was urged to go on from Detroit to Chicago. The city of Chicago is located on the shore of Lake Michigan at the entrance to the prairies, that is, to those immense tracts which extend westward to the Mississippi River and even beyond, virgin land into which are pouring waves of immigrants, which in their hands is being transformed into cultivated fields whose products are flowing back to the East. This prairie country is the granary of the United States and also a storehouse upon which Europe can draw during her lean years. The Americans seem inclined to exaggerate the

amount of their exports to Europe. Mr. Johnston, an English agronomist, claims that they do not raise much more grain than what they need for their own consumption. The Americans, on the other hand, are inclined to regard the old world as being in this respect at the mercy of the new. I recall a newspaper article in which the author, having commiserated the unfortunate countries of Europe subjected to endless revolutions, and not yet having mastered the art of governing themselves, declared, on the occasion of purchases of American grain by France in 1847 and 1848: "They do not even know how to feed themselves and would die of hunger if we did not send them grain."

To the Americans the prairie is a magic word. It is the future, it is progress, it is poetry. Today one rarely mentions the primeval forests, for they have now been opened up by railroads. No longer is the zeal of the immigrants devoted to the forests above all else; more often than not they leave the forests behind in order to exploit the prairies which can be cultivated more easily and more rapidly. Here one does not have to clear the land. Here one can sow in a fertile soil equally favorable for harvests and for herds. The imagination is stimulated by these unusual regions, the only ones where today one will find solitude, delight of wanderlust, adventures, encounters with Indians, herds of buffalo and wild horses, nature and primitive life. The poet Bryant sang of the prairies; here Cooper found his trapper, Leather-stocking; Washington Irving, the elaborate writer, described them with passion; and after these a host of travelers and novelists constantly wearied their readers with stories and descriptions as monotonous as the endless plains themselves, but without their grandeur.

Chicago is today what Cincinnati was thirty years ago, the advanced sentry of civilization on this side of the Mississippi River, while on the other side of the river is St. Louis, the outpost of the westward movement—the advanced guard



CHICAGO. *Vue Prise du Dôme de L'Hôtel de Ville*

of that army of pioneers whom the great river is unable to halt, and who will adventure across the sandy plains which extend to the base of the Rocky Mountains.

"Westward the course of empire takes its way."

Bishop Berkeley.[1]

I would have liked to see St. Louis, the city whose development is the most recent and most active in all the Union, but to return from there it would have been necessary to ascend the Ohio River and the water in the Ohio at that time was very low, so I contented myself with Chicago.

Chicago is not as large a city as St. Louis, but it was pointed out to me as being particularly interesting because of its rapid growth and its situation right on the edge, so to speak, of civilization, at least of this edge of civilization. The railroad leads directly to Lake Michigan, traversing vast forests intersected by swamps and small streams. One reaches the shore of the lake in the evening, crosses the lake by steamboat during the night, and is in Chicago the next morning. The predictions concerning the future growth of cities in America must be taken with a grain of salt. It was decided to establish the capital of the United States at Washington but the large area allotted for that idealized city stands for the most part still unoccupied. Mr. Keating[2] who accompanied Major Long on his expedition of 1823, and crossed with him the territory of the Potawatomi and the Chippewa who then occupied the very land which I visited today by railroad, wrote: "The dangers of navigation on Lake Michigan and the lack of harbors offered by its shores will always be a serious obstacle in the development of Chicago." Today the population of this city, which did not exist fifteen years ago, is 34,000.

Only a few miles from Chicago, in a terrain devoid of mountains and only slightly above sea level, is the watershed

[1] George Berkeley (1685-1753), well-known Irish philosopher.

[2] William Hypolitus Keating (1799-1840), geologist and diarist of a government expedition to explore the headwaters of the Mississippi River.

between the valleys of the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi. Here the two drainage systems which are almost level with one another, come together. In fact, during the rainy season they are connected with one another by a canal. A slight irregularity of the ground determines whether a drop of water shall merge with the Hudson Bay [*sic.*] or with the Gulf of Mexico. Are there not just such chance happenings in the lives of individuals and of nations?

The hotel where I stayed, in Chicago, is one of the largest and best in the United States. The proprietor was, I am told, some years ago, a tailor in the backwoods; he became bankrupt and went to Chicago where, with his brother, he sold men's trousers at fifty cents each. Now he has built this magnificent hotel which one is astonished to find right on the edge of Lake Michigan.

Lake Michigan, like its name, has a savage appearance. That, at least, was my impression in approaching the entrance to the city, along the bleak and sandy shore. I saw only an expanse of green water churned by a sharp, cold wind; I heard only the puffing of a steam engine and the intermittent buzz of a saw mingled with the sound of the waves. Before me there extended out into the lake a long wooden pier consisting of planks and timbers half broken. There was left of it only what was absolutely necessary. The city stands there like a boat stranded on the beach. Near by are the suburbs where the well-to-do families of Chicago dwell. Here there are fine avenues and frame dwellings with white columns, and with handsome verandas surrounded by flower gardens. One of these residences is surrounded by a veritable park. I recall to mind its beautiful conservatory as distinctly as though I were again right there on Lake Michigan.

Another of these fine homes belongs to a Mr. Ogden,[3] to whom I had a note of introduction. No one is better informed

[3] William Butler Ogden (1805-1877), railroad executive and first mayor of Chicago.

than he about the city of Chicago, for he has known it from its birth and has helped to build it. Mr. Ogden came out to this part of the country as a young man and bought some land. He had been in charge of the sale of public lands and had purchased some himself. In this way, too, he took an active part in the development of Chicago. As we were taking a stroll through his gardens he pointed out to me a tree left from the primeval forest, and he said: "When I came here fifteen years ago, I fastened my horse to that very tree, which then stood in the heart of a forest." Today that spot resembles a virgin forest about as much as does the garden of a residence in a London suburb or on the heights of Passy.[4]

Mr. Ogden introduced me to a French woman living in Chicago. She was decidedly French in speech and manners though her father was an Indian chief. There is no stigma attached, he told me, to such an origin. There is no race prejudice against the Indian: he is of a noble race. In fact although the manners and customs of the original owners of American soil were savage, their thoughts were often heroic. They had a composure and self-possession which everywhere lent distinction. Their language was poetic, their conversation was at times really eloquent, they had even some humor and they knew how to use a certain cool irony which often embarrassed and disconcerted their interlocutor. Two examples of this have been given me. An Indian chief, receiving a visit from an official of the United States government, sat down beside his guest on a log. While the official was talking the Indian kept gradually forcing him toward the end of the log on which they both sat. Finally the white man exclaimed: "You keep pushing me along: I no longer have any room to sit."

"That, my father," replied the savage, "is what you are doing to the Indians." Another replied to some missionaries

[4] A favorite residential suburb of Paris, famous in the nineteenth century for its villas and gardens.

La Poste, Chicago

who were telling him of the passion of Jesus: "Brothers, yo tell us that the white men crucified the Son of God. We hav nothing to do with that crime: it concerns only you. It is u to you to do penance. If the Son of God had come to us, fa from killing Him we would have treated Him well."

The celebrated Red Jacket, one of the last of the aborig ines to hold out against the encroachment of the white race defended before a jury, a score of years ago, one of his com patriots who was accused of murder and was acquitted. Afte the judgment, Red Jacket approached the attorney who ha upheld the accusation, and said to him, "Doubtless m brother did a great wrong to one of your kinsmen." The at torney assured him that he had nothing to do with it, an tried to explain to the Indian the nature of his duties as a attorney. The chief listened in silence and then asked: "D you receive money for fulfilling these duties of which yo speak?" The attorney had to admit that he did. "What!" said the Indian, feigning surprise and extreme indignation "then you have sold the blood of my brother!" The lawye who told me this admitted that at the moment he could fin nothing to reply.

In spite of what I have been told about the success of th Indians, I notice that all traces of them have been rapidl effaced. Where today stands a public promenade there wer fifteen years ago only their wigwams and their buria grounds. What has become of their graves, I have asked Washed away, scoured by the waters, I am told. Have no the white men helped the water? Be that as it may, the ca of their graves is one of the most touching and importan characteristics of the Indians. I have been told how som savages came not long ago from a considerable distance t a district in New England from which they had been drive several generations before, to visit the graves of their tribe When they saw that the graves had been destroyed, thei surprise and their despair knew no bounds. Nothing coul

ssuage their grief nor quell their indignation.

That is the thing which undermines, in the minds of the ndians, the white men whom they too often have reason to lespise. Some bandits, representing the scum of the popula- ion, once settled on the frontier for the purpose of outwit- ing the unfortunate savages. One of them said naïvely: "I ıave come one hundred miles for the sake of fleecing the In- lians." And the uncle of the Indian woman whom I saw this norning—the education of whose children she offered to ake charge of—replied to her: "I would rather cut the hroats of these children than make of them such rascals as hose who take back from us that which they have given ıs."

CHAPTER XIV

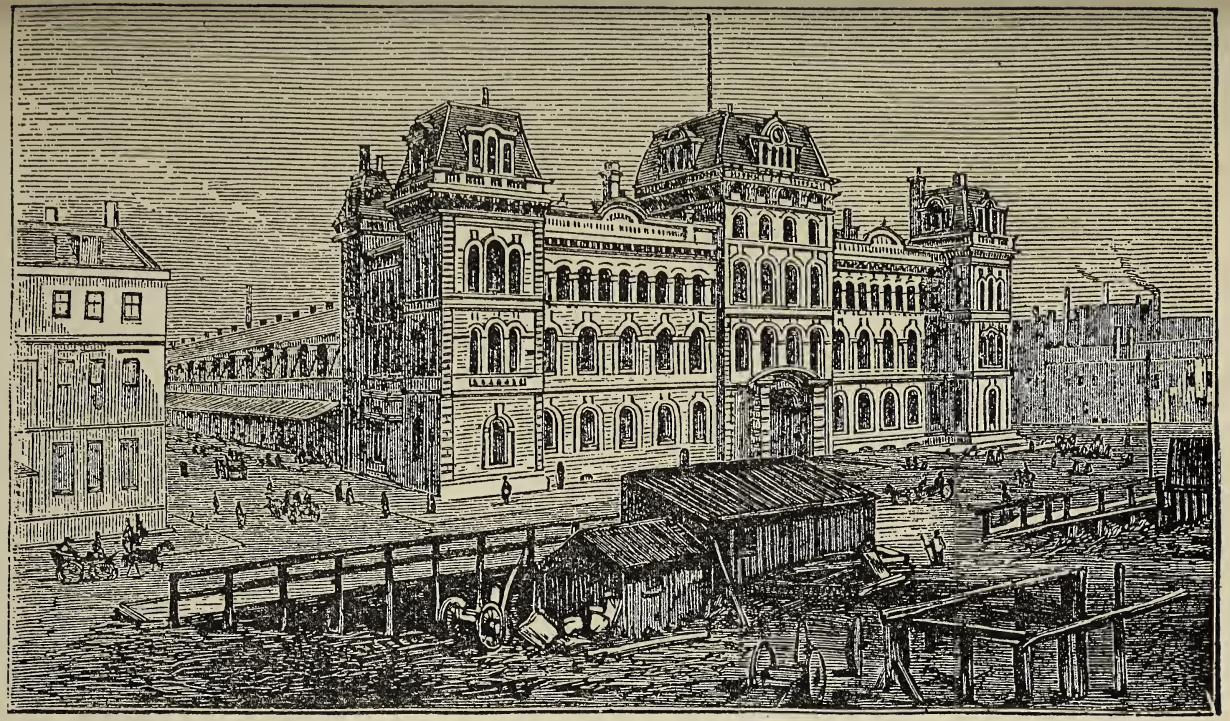
Some religious sects in the United States. Public education. Machine for cutting wheat. A railroad to the desert.

There are thirty-six churches in Chicago. They belong o various Christian denominations. More than once I have ıeard it said: "We like a variety of sects, for we see in it a guarantee against the preponderance of any one sect." In that tatement one has a good example of the democratic spirit vhich takes offense at any group in society which is able to xert, under one name or another, too much influence or too nuch authority; but is this so much a religious spirit as one vhich appears to be so powerful everywhere else in Amer- ca? The feelings of Americans in regard to religious matters re to me, in some respects, an enigma which I do not yet omprehend. If one really adopts a profession of faith, any vhatsoever, it is impossible to consider sects, divided as they re on very important points and heaping blame as they do n one another, as being equally in the possession of the ruth. Perhaps in the United States the majority is convinced nore of the excellence and the social utility of religion than f the truth of this or that dogma. Perhaps they adhere stub-

bornly to their beliefs because being men of action rath
than of thought and pressed by business, they have neith
the taste nor the time to investigate them. I know many suc
Americans in Paris.

In following with Mr. Ogden a beautiful walk whic
extended along the lake shore, I noticed a pleasing fram
house and was told that it belonged to the Catholic bisho
who is highly esteemed. I asked Mr. Ogden whether the
were many Protestants who embraced Catholicism, and h
replied, as several people had already told me, that suc
cases were rare and exceptional. The Catholic population
augmented largely by immigrants who are for the most pa
Catholic. These immigrants come mainly from Ireland an
Germany, especially from that part of Germany whe
Catholicism is dominant. But there are very few conversion
other than those of persons who have traveled in Europe o
of children who have been sent to parochial schools. On th
other hand, I am told that the Irish children who attend th
public schools often become Protestants. Catholicism in th
United States is not the object of any malevolent prejudic
but I do not believe that the majority are disposed to em
brace it.

There are here a great number of Baptists. They are fa
from resembling the Anabaptists of bloody fame. They recog
nize no baptism except by immersion. Their belief is base
upon a passage in the epistles of St. Paul, where it is state
that he who is baptized is like one who has been buried in
tomb and then restored to a new life. Following these pa
sages literally, the Baptists want to be plunged, and, as i
were, buried under the water. For this, complete immersio
is necessary. One often sees in Chicago, in wintertime, Bap
tist ministers breaking the ice in the lake and wading int
the water up to their waists in order to immerse the newl
received members whom they hold in their arms. Beside
this particular dogma, the general tendency of Baptists, lik



Entrepôt du Chemin de Fer Sud-Michigan, CHICAGO

the Methodists—and even more perhaps, is to concern themselves with the common people who are too often neglected by Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Unitarians, within whose churches there is no place for the poor, or, at best, a humiliating one. The Methodists and Baptists open their chapels to these banished ones, and their language is violently bitter toward the churches which belong to the exclusive rich. Here is something I read in a recently delivered Baptist sermon:

> The deacons, seated in their upholstered pews, can fold their arms and fix their eyes upon the pulpit before them, but they do not see the multitude crowded in the vestibule; for these they have no concern. They have a good congregation, a good church building, and a good minister, and everyone from the formal minister to the foot of the ladder, is conscious of his capital; but soon all that will be faded and withered, and you will hear the wind blowing through the rafters, for, from the moment when the church scorns men of humble circumstances, it immediately begins to wither.

This violent language may seem exaggerated, but we are bound to believe what Mr. Tuckerman[5] wrote, in 1838, on the condition of the churches in Boston. That respected gentleman, impressed by the great number of inhabitants who were not affiliated, by reason of their poverty, to any church or to any religious group, after a thoughtful study, arrived at the conclusion that out of 12,000 families there were 5,622, almost one-half, who fell within the above group. He said rightly enough: "The church is a joint stock property: it belongs to a corporation. It is divided into shares called pews, and these pews are owned, just as real estate is owned. The relations between the minister and the religious group of which he is a member, are limited almost entirely to those who pay for his services." There are, then, pews only for the shareholders who are owners of the church and pay the minister. It appears, however, that these pews which they are not able to rent, are placed at the disposal of the poor. "But,"

[5] Joseph Tuckerman (1778-1840), Unitarian clergyman.

says Mr. Tuckerman, "these humiliating pews where one is admitted on account of poverty, although acceptable in England, are not so in America: no one wishes to sit in them." And the author goes on to show what a contradiction there is between the importance which the poorest citizen feels within a democratic country where, by his vote, he shares in the government, and the insult to which he is subjected by exclusion from the church or by imposing upon him this revolting inequality before God.

One thing is certain: that many other complaints were heard following those of Mr. Tuckerman, on the deficiency of religious institutions in America; these in spite of the zeal of private persons and of the tireless activities of the Methodists whose circuit riders, veritable missionaries, liberally distribute books and religious journals. This distribution is made by sales, the profits from which are employed in the spread of writings which expound the views of that denomination. It is clear that this is an instance—entirely disinterested— of the commercial spirit applied to the preaching of the gospel. Within the past year the Methodists have sold toward two million religious books.

In spite of all the efforts of religious zeal, there is not enough to take care of the prodigiously rapid increase in population. A report of the Massachusetts Society for the Advancement of Christian Instruction puts the matter as follows:

> In Rockingham and Stafford counties, New Hampshire, there are forty-five districts, containing 40,000 inhabitants, which have been deprived of the light of the Gospel, some for ten years, some even for thirty and forty years; and in a district which contains 1,063 souls, where once a minister had resided for twenty years, the doors of the Christian Church have been closed for several years.

In the reports made by the various religious sects, in 1833 and 1835, it is established that, at that time, more than a thousand districts and villages had no religious worship, that 5,000,000 people did not have the light of the gospel.

The report of the Society of Baptist Missionaries, in 1833 contains these words: "Even if all those who profess to b Christian teachers were endowed with the necessary ability there would still be a deficit of 4,060 ministers to take car of the needs of the country." In considering this figure on must make considerable allowance for those who sprea error, for those who understand neither the Christian doc trine nor the method of teaching properly, and finally fo those who are too busily engaged in the occupations of th day to be able to devote time to preparing themselves ir such a way as to be really useful in their ministry. Thes facts show a large and alarming failure in Christian instruc tion.

The zeal of all these sects, particularly of the Baptist and the Methodists, struggles valiantly against the lack c religious assistance. Just now, in New York, men are con sidering open-air sermons such as they have in London an Edinburgh, since it is a notorious fact that all the churche of New York put together can accommodate only half of th city's population. The result is that the other half is deprive of divine service.

Let us return to Chicago. After the churches the school are the next item to be considered in building a city. Ther are six public schools in Chicago, in which 3,000 childre are instructed. The schools have a thirty-sixth of the land held for sale by the government and they have also the yiel of a local tax which amounts to 30,000 francs. The teacher receive approximately 1,200 francs, which they find inade quate.

They are aided by assistants who teach the younger boy and girls to spell. In the United States many women are em ployed for the primary instruction of both sexes, and the prove to be very satisfactory. They have the patience an gentleness necessary for this laborious instruction. Too man other careers are open to men to allow them to be long con

Palais de Justice, CHICAGO

tent with teaching children to read. A society has been e
tablished in New England for the purpose of sending wome
teachers out into the West. There they render the greate
services and contribute efficaciously to the moral culture
the rude population which inhabits that new country. A
the same time, these women are often able to marry adva
tageously with the settlers who have commenced to mak
fortunes. Thus the institution works to the advantage of a
concerned—the children, the settlers, and the women teac
ers themselves.

Two months ago I was in England. A rural ceremony ha
called me some fifty miles out of London. I was going to s
a harvesting machine in operation. A goodly number of cou
try gentlemen and farm hands had assembled for the sam
purpose. A horizontal cutter bar, driven by the motion
the machine itself, mowed down with great rapidity a co
siderable quantity of wheat. That machine, drawn by a hors
went around a bit of the field cutting down at each turn
sheaf of wheat several feet in size. A laborer standing upo
the machine raked off the cut wheat as fast as it collecte
there. That was the only intervention of man in the operatio
It seems to me it would not have been impossible to ha
these loose sheaves thrown off by the machine itself. As
was, the machine was the greatest success in the eyes of th
connoisseurs who witnessed the experiment. What made m
recall to mind the machine today is the fact that on its sid
one read the word "Chicago." As a matter of fact, an inha
itant of this city, Mr. McCormick,[6] is its inventor.

It is from the shores of Lake Michigan, from the prair
region, from the city born only yesterday, that there cam
an invention which aroused the interests of English farme
and which in several competitive trials on the farm, has su
passed its rivals. If the harvesting machine of Mr. McCo
mick has had a success in England, where in agriculture

[6] Cyrus Hall McCormick (1809-1884), inventor, manufacturer, and philanthropist.

n all things the people like polish and perfection, and where and is dear and cultivation painstaking, one can fancy that t should succeed even better in America where land can be nad for almost nothing, where one is concerned not so much with doing well as with doing a great deal and doing that quickly, where it little matters whether one leaves some wheat, provided that one has reaped a large area. Farewell hen to the harvesters of Theocritus and of Virgil! Farewell o the patriarch Boaz ordering his servants to leave some of he wheat for Ruth to glean after them! One more complaint of poetry against machines which have done her so much harm. But these complaints will not stop the machines; the atter have their own poetry, or at least their own greatness, ince they represent the power and triumphs of man over nature.

In this faraway country where they produce machines which astonish Europe, they do not know how to put on he dramatic sketch, for they are playing this evening a play f Mr. Scribe's[7] whose spirit is so decidedly French and whose lays have been everywhere successful. They are also playing *a Bohémienne* ["The Bohemian Girl"]. This is the Esmeralda f Mr. Victor Hugo: the characters of *Notre Dame de Paris* ave come all this way. I have not gone to the theater in hicago because I was invited to a concert given by sub-cription where I heard a good pianist and a moderately good iolinist. The latter, they tell me, is a ruined merchant. The rchestra was composed of German amateurs. There was a ttle dancing and waltzing, done somewhat as in Paris. The eople who were with me did not know many of this new opulation which is here today and gone tomorrow. The merican is not willingly attached to one spot, although he as a strong feeling of nationalism. To him the fatherland is rst of all the entire union and after that the particular part f the union in which he happens to be and then only for so

[7] Augustin Eugène Scribe (1791-1861), wrote operas and plays highly popular in his day.

long as he remains there. He has a patriotic feeling for his parish, but he readily changes his parish.

Before leaving Chicago I wanted to catch at least a glimpse of the prairie. For this purpose I boarded a railway train which traversed it for a certain distance. I got out at a station right in the middle of the desert. There was no ticket office, as one might have expected; there were no houses; there were no trees. Yonder I perceived a small red house: it seemed to me to be the last habitation: beyond it was nothing but boundless level ground. No noise; no motion; the sky seemed to dip down behind the horizon as it does at sea. It is of these prairies that Mr. Bryant, the American poet, has said: "Their expanse is so vast that it appears daring for the gaze to plunge into them." I am reminded of the fine lines which he has sung of the interior of these great prairies. I set foot only upon the edge of them, but still I can say, with him:

"And I am in the wilderness alone."

After having passed two hours in the midst of this empty and limitless space, I heard the noise of a distant train and saw its smoke rise and travel across the solitude. I noticed then the telegraph wire which here crossed the prairie. I no longer understood why I had felt so far away—so lonely.

I returned to Chicago where I arrived in time to pass a most agreeable evening listening to music and enjoying ice cream in the beautiful home of Mr. Ogden.

THE REVEREND JOHN BRICH

His Life and Tragic Death

BY CHARLES G. DAVIS

JOHN Brich was born on March 25, 1770, at High Legh, Cheshire, England. We have no knowledge of his family ɔther than that there were brothers and sisters, none of whom migrated to America or survived him. Though little is ɔnown of his early years, it is recorded that he attended the Countess of Huntingdon's College in Wales. The minutes of he governors' meeting of February, 1796, relating his ap-ɔlication for admission to the college, read in part:

> He attended, was examined, gave good Evidence of a work of Grace n his Heart, and his Call to the Ministry and the Testimonials in his ıvor being quite satisfactory, it was unanimously agreed that he be pro-osed to the Trustees, to be admitted a Probationer.
>
> But being a Servant, and necessarily obliged to give a proper warn-ıg to leave his place; it was recommended to him to give his Masters nmediate Notice of his Intention to quit their service, and to attend the ext monthly meeting for Admission.

He attended the meeting accordingly and, when at lib-rty, received his order for admission. After studying at the ollege for four years, he served as a minister in Wales, Ire-ınd, and England.

Brich left England for America on June 11, 1817. Land-ıg at Quebec on August 12, he proceeded up the St. .awrence River to Kingston, and remained in that neigh-orhood to preach during the next fourteen months. Later, e moved to Cincinnati, Ohio, arriving there on Decem-er 8, 1818. He made application on April 9, 1819, to be ıken under the care of the Miami Presbytery. According to

the minutes, in which his trial is fully recorded, his credentials were found proper and his testimonials ample and satisfactory. He was accordingly appointed to preach at various places, as well as before the Presbytery.

Brich having successfully undergone these examinations, and having preached often with the approbation of the churches, the Presbytery, on December 2 of the same year, resolved that further trials for the following April be dispensed with, and he was duly received as a member of the Presbytery. He spent the next five years preaching in various places in southwestern Ohio. It appears from the records of the Presbytery that he was very active in establishing churches, preaching, and carrying on the educational and business affairs of the organization.

In November, 1824, he traveled through Indiana and Illinois, particularly in Sangamon, Peoria, Greene, and Morgan counties in the latter state. He purchased a "plantation" near Jacksonville with, as he has written, a little money that he brought from England, and a little more that he had saved since coming to this country. He built a cabin on his land and established his home there, becoming one of the earliest Presbyterian ministers to reside in Illinois. In 1825 the Rev. John M. Ellis, later a Presbyterian minister in Jacksonville for many years, arrived in Illinois. He subsequently wrote that there were but three Presbyterian ministers in this state at the time of his arrival—the Rev. John Brich, near Jacksonville, the Rev. Stephen Bliss in the northeastern part of the state, and the Rev. Benjamin F. Spillman in the southwestern part.

Soon after settling in Illinois, Brich made a trip back to Ohio, and on April 9, 1825, he asked for his dismissal from the Miami Presbytery so that he could join the Missouri Presbytery, whose jurisdiction extended over most of Illinois. The return trip to Illinois was made in November, 1825. In an undated letter, addressed to "My Christian Friends,"

he gives an account of this journey, which shows the difficulties of travel of that period. He traveled every day except Sunday, and on that day he stopped and preached wherever he happened to be. His narrative, condensed, is as follows:

Set out from Dayton Ohio, November 22, 1825, and traveled to Eaton, 24 miles,

From Eaton to Brownsville, Indiana, 24 miles,

To Bushville, 28 miles,

To Indianapolis, 36 miles,

To Walnut Fork of Eel River, 30 miles,

Sunday and preached in the cabin.

To Crawfordsville, 28 miles,

To Blair's Ferry on the Wabash River, 31 miles,

Crossed Ferry into Illinois, took the wrong path and entered Vermilion timber, 12 miles,

To Saltworks on the Vermilion, 19 miles, next stage said to be 45 miles without a house,

[The near tragedy of the next day, December 2nd, was very similar in character to that which resulted in his death.]

The next day was very cold. While riding through high and long prairie grass my horse stumbled and fell and I was pinned by my right leg under her. I was fearful of being struck by the animal's hoofs. At last both the rider and the horse were free. If I had had a broken leg, I would probably have perished as I was 20 miles from any house, not on a road and very cold. I proceeded and reached the headwaters and timber of the northwest fork of the Sangamon River and, about sundown, reached shelter, as cold as I could be except I was in a very high fever. After riding 45 miles I was glad to eat a little supper and go to bed and rest myself.

Down the timber, 30 miles,

Next day, Sunday, preached,

To a cabin within two miles of Springfield, 40 miles,

From there to my cabin in Morgan County is about 33 miles more.

The distances were given by people where I stopped and is very good measure. I remained some days in this neighborhood and went on to Morgan County by easy stages. I there found things much the same as when I left them a year ago.

At this time I am trying to organize a Presbyterian Church.[1]

On March 16, 1826, Brich presented his letter of dismissal and recommendation from the Miami Presbytery to the Missouri Presbytery and was received as a member. From

[1] The remainder of the letter is missing.

the Presbytery records it seems that he was very active, appearing frequently as moderator of meetings, establishing churches, traveling as a missionary, generally preaching twice on Sunday and often also on week days.

Searching for material at my request, the librarian of the Chicago Theological Seminary found in the Hammond Library a letter, never before published, written by the Rev. Mr. Brich, from Jacksonville, Illinois, February 6, 1827, to the Rev. Absalom Peters, corresponding secretary of the American Home Missionary Society, New York.

After a polite address, Brich wrote: "As I am both a stranger, and far away from you, it may be necessary in the first place, to give some little account of myself." This was followed by an autobiography and a sketch of his travels and work. He wrote at length of the conditions and people of Illinois. Among many other things he said:

> It is especially difficult for Presbyterian ministers as the common cry in all my travels has been, and is, that the Presbyterian ministers can do nothing for Religion, the Gospel of Christ, the benefit of the Souls of men, except they have, and receive the best part of the *Fleece*, or their mouths are opened by a *Silver Leaver*. And should they be so fortunate as to receive a little assistance from any Society, to help them to make known Christ, and his Salvation, for the benefit of their fellow-men, then they are doing nothing more than making Merchandise of the Gospel.

He stated that there was very little money in circulation, and that the few people who did possess it used it to secure land for themselves, and that there was no inclination on their part either to listen to the Gospel or to support the work of the ministers.

Brich asked for "a little pecuniary aid" to carry on the work, but it does not appear that his request was granted. Later in 1827, he received a rather ornate certificate from the trustees of the Missionary Society of Connecticut, appointing him a missionary for one year, unless sooner recalled by the board, to labor in the settlements of Illinois. He was permitted to preach regularly in any particular place, so long as

the people of that place should see fit to employ him "at their expense." Actually, this certificate was an honor without an honorarium.

When Center Presbytery of Illinois was set off from the Missouri Presbytery in 1829, Brich was transferred to the new Presbytery. There were at that time only eight Presbyterian ministers in Illinois, including Brich. He was transferred to the Illinois Presbytery when it superseded Center in 1831. With Jacksonville as a base, he worked throughout the state, founding churches, preaching, visiting settlements, and assisting in the establishment of educational institutions.

The following description of him is given in Norton's history of the Presbyterian Church:

> He was an Englishman by birth and peculiarities. . . . Nearly all the history of him is found in floating traditions, and in the vanishing memories of the few still living, who, fifty years ago, were familiar with his features, voice and work. Physically he was capable of much endurance. . . . He had sound sense, a warm heart, and an earnest zeal in the Master's cause, which he pursued self-denyingly, traveling extensively at his own charges, visiting the people in their widely scattered homes and settlements, everywhere preaching the word and gathering churches as he was able.[2]

In the Presbyterian controversies between the "Old School" and "New School" groups in the 1830's, Brich adhered to the Old School and wrote somewhat at length on the subject. His religious philosophy appears clearly in some of his statements regarding the "Act and Testimony" then soon to be published on the subject of these doctrines. He declared:

> And it seems to me that you desire to know, who of the Ministers n the Presbyterian Church held the same doctrines as they professed to hold when they were received into it: . . . As it respects myself, I am only orry that there is the least call, for any publication, to expose the errors n the Presbyterian Church. It is certainly most desirable that her ministers should be one, in true sentiment, in Faith in God the Father, Son

[2] A. T. Norton, *History of the Presbyterian Church, in the State of Illinois* (St. Louis, 1879), 14-15.

and Holy Ghost, and in all the great and leading doctrines of the Christian Religion, and as in my humble opinion, they are plainly stated both in the Holy Bible, and in the Westminster Assembly's Confession of Faith.

And I have thought more than a thousand times in my life, when I have considered that there is but one eternal living God, one Jesus Christ, the only Redeemer of men, and who laid down his life for the sheep, and one Holy Spirit of Wisdom and Truth, one Holy Bible, and one glorious Heaven at last for all God's People, that there has been more learned pride, haughtiness, with an overbearing spirit, if not a sham humility, in the many long, tedious, and some bitter disputes than there has been about Religion in many different ages: than there has been real piety, Love to God, and Love to the Souls of men, and obedience to the divine precepts.[3]

He then shows, as he sees it, the falsity of the "New School." He deals kindly but firmly with the "disputers" and declares that the spirit must be present in the ministers and that the "blessing of the Gospel" is, after all, the essential thing.

In a vigorous but friendly reply to an article printed in 1836 in the *Western Presbyterian Herald* in Louisville, Kentucky, he declared:

Let all the New School men gather around their own standard in a church of their own and a body of their own. But let it not be the Presbyterian Church. There is room enough for us all. And let them have the praise, who live the best lives, and who preach the most pure gospel and do the most good to the souls of men in the name of the Lord Jesus. When this New School Confession of Faith comes out, how it will be sought after. We shall all then be able to compare it with the old one, and the who like it best may take it.

In 1835 Brich traveled through the northwestern part of Illinois, and the next year he again visited this part of the state. In a letter written to a friend in England, in November of that year, he stated:

In the beginning of last June I left the neighborhood of Jacksonville and took another journey through a number of counties lying in the northwest part of this state with both much fatigue and pleasure to myself of not much less than one thousand miles in going and coming and cross and backward and forward and in all directions preaching the Lord Jesus

[3] Letter to the Presbyterians of Philadelphia, Aug. 21, 1834.

Christ and the blessings of his gospel and I hope for the benefit of those who heard me. I returned October 2, having been away four months.

Before his 1836 journey, he sold his real estate in and about Jacksonville, though he still maintained his residence there. He soon invested in government land in the vicinity of Richland Grove Township in the northeastern part of Mercer County, and James Glenn, of Colona Township, was hired to work on and develop this land.

Brich was now to make his final journey. In the first week of March, 1837, he reached Henry County, visited the homes of the Rev. Philip K. Hanna and the Rev. George H. Colbert in Hanna Township, then came to the dwelling of James and Thomas Glenn in Colona Township, almost two miles east of the Rock Island County line.

After dinner on March 8, he went to the cabin of James Kincaid, just west of the county line, where he spent the night. He returned the next day and had dinner with the Glenns, after which he mounted his horse and started for Richland Grove, Mercer County. The weather was very cold, with a blustery wind blowing. A light snowfall covered the ground. In the evening, the horse returned without its rider. James and Thomas Glenn were not alarmed, however, for they thought that Brich would soon appear or that he had gone to the home of James Kincaid. But when the Glenns went to the Kincaid home the next morning and learned that the minister was not there, a search was begun.

Following the tracks of Brich's horse, Kincaid and the Glenns were led to a point where an Indian trail running southwesterly into Mercer County crossed a small stream just within the Rock Island County line, about five miles from the Glenn home. Here the ice was broken where the horse had entered the stream. The horse was believed to have stumbled, throwing the rider from the saddle. The horse had returned to the Glenn cabin from this point. Brich was probably unconscious for a time, then got up and started to walk.

Following his tracks, the searchers found his body reclining against a tree near a branch of the stream in which his horse had stumbled. Brich was probably seeking a place to cross the swollen stream, and hoped then to make his way to the Glenn home. But after walking about two and a half miles he could go no farther. Before collapsing, Brich had hung his saddlebags in a tree about a hundred yards within the Rock Island County line, though his death occurred in Henry County.

An inquest was held by John Walker, coroner of Rock Island County. It appears that the body was taken to the home of James Kincaid and was then buried on the hill, now Glennwood Cemetery, south of the Glenn homestead. His grave is marked by a headstone, with the inscription:

REV. JOHN BRICH
FROZEN TO DEATH
ON THE 9TH OF MAR.
1837
ABOUT 60 YRS OLD

Cash amounting to $430 was found on his body, and promissory notes and cash in his saddlebags amounted to a total of $3,121.87.

An affidavit of death was made by James Kincaid as follows:

James Kincaid after being duly sworn states upon oath that John Brich is deceased that he was found dead on the ground in the prairie in the month of March 1837 supposed to have been thrown from his Horse which rendered him unable to reach any Home, the little streams being up, so that he could not cross them and the weather being cold the inference was that he was so chilled that he died. This Deponent states upon oath that the said deceased is a foreigner and that he never was married, nor has he any relations living in the United States of America and that he is a nonresident. This Deponent further states that there was an instrument of writing found in his saddlebags among his papers purporting to be a Will made by the deceased, but that there was no Executors named in the Will, nor was the instrument of writing signed by the deceased, but he believed it was in the handwriting of the deceased, nor was there any witnesses to the instrument of writing.

Letters of administration were issued on April 20, 1837, to Joseph Conway, public administrator of Rock Island County.

Though the Rev. John Brich died in Henry County, his residence was in Morgan County, and that was the proper county for the administration of his estate. There was personal property on his body and also in the saddlebags which he had hung in a tree in Rock Island County. His real estate was located in Mercer County.

At the time of his death, the statutes of Illinois provided that if any person who owned real or personal property died without any devise thereof and left no heirs or representatives capable of inheriting the same, such estate should revert to the state. Moreover, the statutes required that the attorney general or state's attorney file an information in the circuit court of the county in which any such real estate was situated, on behalf of the state. In fact, this remained the law until 1874.

The statutes were entirely ignored in all the legal proceedings regarding the estate of the Rev. John Brich. No effort was made to find his heirs in England. Rock Island County held possession of the assets of the estate, but Henry County sought to obtain them. Letters of administration were granted to Nathan W. Washburn, public administrator of Henry County, on his representation that John Brich died in Henry County, leaving no heirs and owning a considerable amount of personal property.

The county commissioners of Henry County employed attorneys to prosecute a suit against Rock Island County. The declaration, an action of debt, was filed in 1846 to recover the sum of $3,500 and $1,000 interest. Change of venue was taken from Rock Island County to Whiteside County, where the case was duly tried. The suit terminated on August 26, 1847, by a verdict of the jury for the defendant, Rock Island County. The pleadings and the instructions to

the jury are so confused that it cannot be determined upon what issue the verdict was founded.

And so ended the sordid quarrels for the possessions of this good man—the more sordid when one considers his intentions as disclosed by the instrument which he believed to be his last will. This instrument, which is in the probate files of Rock Island County, was found in Brich's saddlebags. It did bear his signature, but since it was not attested by witnesses it was not admitted to probate. Dated March 25, 1836, it stated: "This day I am sixty-six years of age." In an earlier will, written in a book and signed by Brich on September 11, 1834, bequests similar to those in his last will were made. This instrument, like the later one, was not witnessed.

The will written in 1836, which was rather lengthy, reflects the benevolent character of the Rev. John Brich and reveals his philosophy of life. Short abstracts of the bequests follow.

The sum of $1,000 was given to the Countess of Huntingdon's College, and the treasurer thereof was directed to apply the same for the use of educating young men, as far as it would go, for the Gospel ministry. Brich stated: "I make this bequest by way of returning a Mite of Gratitude to my worthy Benefactors, for the benefits I received at the said College, more than thirty-six years ago."

The sum of $500 was given to each of the following organizations, with directions regarding the use of the money in each case: the American Bible Society, to be used in the wider circulation of the Holy Scriptures, without note or comment; the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, to be used as the wisdom of the said Society should direct; the Society for the spread of the Gospel of the Lord Jesus, and for the promoting of true experimental Christianity among the Jews; the American Colonization Society in the State of Liberia on the coast of Africa, stating: "And

while the Gospel and Schools are going forward: let Agriculture, Gardening and all the Mechanical arts be introduced: so that all may go along together."

Brich's trunks and boxes and all their contents were left to South Hanover College in the State of Indiana. So also was his library, consisting of about four hundred volumes.

As to his burial, Brich directed his body to be put into a plain oak, or walnut coffin, and buried in a grave two and a half or three yards deep, all to be done at a small expense. He declared: "I would rather the little I leave behind me, should rather be spent on others, and for the Glory of Christ, and the good of his cause, than on myself either while I live, or after I am dead."

This direction, at least, was faithfully followed by the administrator of his estate in Rock Island County, as evidenced by the following account of funeral expenses: "$6.00 for shrouding, $14.50 for the coffin, and $10.00 for attendance on and burial of the body, total $30.50."

Had the Rev. John Brich lived longer, he would have been more widely known, and his labors as minister and missionary more appreciated. Tales of his experiences, enlarged and enhanced, would have been told, recollections would have been written. He would undoubtedly have been given a place high among those who carried the Gospel to the western country.

THE ILLINOIS BOOKSHELF

HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH SETTLEMENT IN EDWARDS COUNTY, ILLINOIS. By George Flower. (*Chicago Historical Society's Collection*, Vol. I). Chicago, Fergus Printing Company, 1882.

The close of the Napoleonic Wars found two remarkable Englishmen, Morris Birkbeck and George Flower, dissatisfied with their prospects. Birkbeck was farming a large tract of land, but his was only a leasehold, and that was about to expire. It was a period of postwar deflation. Prices were falling, but rents and taxes remained high. Birkbeck, though more than fifty years of age and possessed of a competence, decided to make a fresh start in a new country. His plans, which at the time were not definite, appealed to Richard Flower, a retired brewer, and his son George. George Flower and Birkbeck had already (1814) traveled in France together, and, in spite of a difference of twenty-four years in their ages, had become firm friends. Political liberals, both men were attracted by the United States.

(Years afterwards, Flower wrote a passage that hints strongly at the disillusionment he was soon to experience:

But certain it is that the great principles professed are marred and controvened by the American people. But a real liberty is found in the country, apart from all its political theories. The practical liberty of America is found in its great space and small population. Good land dog-cheap everywhere, and for nothing, if you will go far enough for it, gives as much elbow-room to every man as he chooses to take. Poor laborers, from every country in Europe, hear of this cheap land, are attracted toward it, perhaps without any political opinions. They come, they toil, they prosper. This is the real liberty of America. The people of America, north and south, have never had the nerve to carry the political principles on which their government was founded into practice, and probably never will.)

In the spring of 1816 George Flower came to the United States for the purpose of viewing the country. He traveled far enough west to assure himself that vast prairies devoid of timber actually existed, and then spent most of the following winter with Jefferson at Monticello. In the spring of 1817, at Richmond, Virginia, he met Birkbeck, who had brought his family with him. Flower joined the group, which proceeded to Prince-

ton, Indiana, where living accommodations were rented. From that point they set out to explore the country and find a site suitable for the settlement which they had now determined to establish.

West of the Wabash they found the great prairies upon which they had set their hearts. Flower described the scene in prose that approaches poetry:

A few steps more, and a beautiful prairie suddenly opened to our view. At first, we only received the impressions of its general beauty. With longer gaze, all its distinctive features were revealed, lying in profound repose under the warm light of an afternoon's summer sun. Its indented and irregular outline of wood, its varied surface interspersed with clumps of oaks of centuries' growth, its tall grass, with seed stalks from six to ten feet high, like tall and slender reeds waving in a gentle breeze, the whole presenting a magnificence of park-scenery, complete from the hand of Nature, and unrivalled by the same sort of scenery by European art. For once, the reality came up to the picture of imagination. Our station was in the wood, on rising ground; from it, a descent of about a hundred yards to the valley of the prairie, about a quarter of a mile wide, extending to the base of a majestic slope, rising upward for a full half-mile, crowned by groves of noble oaks. A little to the left, the eye wandered up a long stretch of prairie for three miles, into which projected hills and slopes, covered with rich grass and decorated with compact clumps of full-grown trees, from four to eight in each clump. From beneath the broken shade of the wood, with our arms raised above our brows, we gazed long and steadily, drinking in the beauties of the scene which had been so long the object of our search.

In Edwards County, Illinois, Birkbeck entered 24,600 acres. Flower went back to England to raise more money and induce colonists to emigrate to the new settlement. In both undertakings he was successful. Early in March, 1818, the first settlers—mostly sturdy farm laborers and mechanics—set sail from Bristol. Flower, with another group which included his parents and other relatives, followed in April. All reached the United States, and the Illinois settlement, in safety.

When Flower met Birkbeck he was astounded to be told by the latter that there could be no intercourse between them, and that all business would have to be conducted through an intermediary. The two men never spoke to each other during the seven years of life that remained to Birkbeck. Birkbeck had already established the town of Wanborough, named after his farm in England; Flower laid out Albion two miles distant. For some years the two towns formed the nuclei of the English settlement, but Wanborough never took root. Albion survived, and is today the seat of Edwards County.

Immigrants, mainly from the British Isles, came at frequent inter-

vals, attracted by the descriptions of the colony which Birkbeck wrot and caused to be published before his death in 1825, and by the report which those already on the ground sent to their friends and relatives a home. After an initial period of hardship and adjustment, most of them prospered. For many years the settlement retained the homogeneous qual ity to be expected from its origin; and because of the enlightened char acter of its founders and first settlers, it was long an oasis of education an culture in the intellectually arid frontier. With the passage of years, how ever, and the infiltration of other settlers, it gradually lost its peculia characteristics.

This, in substance, is the story told by Flower in the *History of th English Settlement*. The book itself was written long after Flower, wh eventually lost his original fortune, had removed from Albion. In 1860 h presented the manuscript to the Chicago Historical Society. By rare goo fortune, a borrower took it from the Society's rooms a few days befor the great fire of 1871, and thus it escaped destruction. Under the editor ship of Elihu B. Washburne it was published by the Society in 1882.

The history is a good narrative, and our best source of informatio about the inception and growth of the English settlement. Fortunately it goes far beyond the bare record of events. There are fine accounts of th pleasures and hardships of pioneer travel, vivid descriptions of the un settled prairies of Illinois, realistic pictures of the first nomadic settlers– "the hunter-class of backwoodsmen." There is a long chapter on the con vention struggle of 1822-1824, in which Birkbeck, writing under the nom de-plume of Jonathan Freeman, turned out effective antislavery argument A shorter chapter describes the near-by settlement at New Harmony i Indiana. Many men prominent in early Illinois—Edward Coles, E. B Webb, John McLean, William Wilson, Henry Eddy, to name a few only– are characterized. The improvement of agricultural methods, the intro duction of good breeds of livestock, the organization of schools and library, are all discussed at some length. Altogether, the book affords fine view of raw new country as it appeared to a sympathetic, well-edu cated, widely traveled Englishman.

The *History of the English Settlement*, however, has other merits be sides its informational content. Flower wrote clear and simple prose, en livened now and then with quiet humor. Witness his story of the murdere who, being pardoned, claimed the coffin and the rope from which he wa to have hung, and made a corner-cupboard of the former, while the latte served as "a happy memento in his rural hours."

Not infrequently, the humor is satirical. Flower's comment on th beginnings of Albion—a tavern and a blacksmith shop—is a case in poin

"Two germs of civilization were now planted—one of the useful arts, the other a necessary institution of present civilization. Any man could now get his horse shod and get drunk in Albion, privileges which were soon enjoyed, the latter especially."

Of real bitterness, however, there is little, and this in spite of the fact that Flower had ample cause to consider himself badly treated. He never knew why Birkbeck turned against him. His English reticence, his antislavery opinions, his religious unorthodoxy, made him unpopular with his American neighbors. He spent much money helping new settlers establish themselves and entertaining numberless visitors, yet his reward was financial ruin.

But no amount of adversity could embitter the spirit of the man who revealed himself in the following paragraph:

The last three years of George Flower's life in Illinois were marked by pecuniary difficulties and disasters. His house, flock, and farm, sold at a low price, passed to the hands of a stranger. In the year 1849, himself and wife, his two youngest sons and youngest daughter, left Illinois, never more to return as residents. They crossed the Great Wabash with household furniture and some family plate, with two dollars and fifty cents in cash, to begin the world anew in the pleasant town of New Harmony, Ind. In 1860, he is residing in the town of Mount Vernon, on the banks of the Ohio, seventy-four years of age, possessed of a sound constitution, and in the enjoyment of good health. From deafness, much increased within the last ten years, deprived thereby of the solace of conversation, he has to draw more largely from the resources offered by book, pen, and pencil. In poverty, but not in destitution, happy in his children, and blest in the companionship of the dear partner of his life, who has shared with him the toils, anxieties, and happy days of the past, they both enliven the last stage of life's journey by cheerful reminiscences of the past and enjoyment of the present; accepting the prerogative accorded to age, of extracting happiness from a multitude of minor sources, unheeded by youth and overlooked by middle-age, they probably gather more flowers in the evening of life than they did in the noon-day of existence. Resting on the shady side of the road, spectators of scenes in which they once took a part, they watch the pilgrims toiling in the path they once so zealously trod, sometimes a little weary of their journey, ready to lie down to sleep.

With those words Flower brought the *History of the English Settlement* to a close. At the time they were written, his own life had little longer to run. On January 15, 1862, death came to both him and his wife.

HISTORICAL NOTES

GRANT TAKES COMMAND AT CAIRO

In these days of military pomp and circumstance the following letter by Richard J. Oglesby, who was then serving his second term as Governor of Illinois, is of more than ordinary interest.

The incident to which the letter is devoted is thus described in Grant's *Personal Memoirs*:[1]

On the 4th of September I removed my headquarters to Cairo and found Colonel Richard Oglesby in command of the post. We had never met, at least not to my knowledge. After my promotion I had ordered my brigadier-general's uniform from New York, but it had not yet arrived, so that I was in citizen's dress. The Colonel had his office full of people, mostly from the neighboring States of Missouri and Kentucky, making complaints or asking favors. He evidently did not catch my name when I was presented, for on my taking a piece of paper from the table where he was seated and writing the order assuming command of the district of south-east Missouri, Colonel Richard J. Oglesby to command the post at Bird's Point, and handing it to him, he put on an expression of surprise that looked a little as if he would like to have some one identify me. But he surrendered the office without question.

The Oglesby letter is in the general manuscript collection of the Illinois State Historical Library.

STATE OF ILLINOIS,
EXECUTIVE OFFICE.
SPRINGFIELD, Sept. 28th., 1886.

Thomas Donaldson, Esq.,
326 N. 40th. St.,
Philadelphia, Pa.

MY DEAR SIR:

For some unaccountable reason your letter of June 29th was mislaid, although I remember having read it at the time it was received; I presume I laid it away expecting to make special answer to it and it escaped my mind.

You inclosed me page 264 from the personal memoirs of U. S. Grant, and ask me to write from my recollection of the incident as complete an

[1] I: 264.

account of it as I can. I will briefly do so, though I suppose it will be too late for any purpose you have in view.

Prior to the 4th. of September, 1861, I had been in command of all the forces at Cairo, Bird's-Point and Fort Hope as senior Colonel. It was no uncommon occurrence for refugees, as they were then called, to come into headquarters at Cairo day after day with the most deplorable account of their own suffering in being driven out of the Southern states. They were usually very poorly clad. On the morning in question, I was at headquarters; Major Jesse Phillips, now a Circuit Judge in our State—then, of the 9th. Illinois Inf.,—was acting as my Assistant Adjutant General. We were in process of disposing of the formal duties of that post for the day, several persons being present in headquarters, when three gentlemen walked in the front door at the St. Charles Hotel, where headquarters were established, and moved down towards the seat occupied by myself and Major Phillips. I recognized one of the gentlemen as Captain Lagow, of Illinois; the others I did not know; none of them were in uniform. It seems that Captain Lagow introduced General Grant to me, but I did not catch his words—did not, in fact, understand what he said. In about a half minute General Grant, in citizens clothes (pretty well worn), very dusty and unshaven, approached the seat I was occupying and sat down immediately adjoining me at my desk. I thought the performance was rather "fresh" for a gentleman with whom I was wholly unacquainted, and who, to all intents and purposes appeared as a citizen. Captain Lagow noticing my momentary embarrassment said: "Colonel, you did not understand me, I introduced to you General U. S. Grant." I turned, and used the following expression, putting on, as General Grant says, an expression of supprise [*sic*]: "Why, Great God, are you General Grant; I thought it was a refugee. The last time I saw a general, in the Mexican war, he was in uniform,—for that reason, excuse me General; I did not recognize you." The General's face colored up a little, blending a surprised smile with something of a look of inquiry. Our conversation continued for a moment or two, when taking up a piece of paper lying on the desk, he wrote the usual order: "Brigadier General U. S. Grant hereby assumes command of the District of South-east Missouri with headquarters at Cairo. General John A. McClernand is assigned the command of the forces at Cairo, the posts at Bird's-point and Fort Hope. Colonel R. J. Oglesby is relieved from duty at this post and will resume command of his regiment." Which was a pretty strong indication to me that the gentleman I was addressing was anything but a refugee.

General McClernand had been in Cairo for a day of two, but had not formally assumed command. General Grant expressed some surprise at this and asked the second time why General McClernand had not assumed command on arriving. I told him that I was commanding the forces there and was unable to give any explanation of it, whereupon the General concluded that branch of our interview by stating that General McClernand must assume command at once; and General McClernand did, in fact, assume command the next morning.

I have thus given you the jist [*sic*] of the interview almost word for word. It was the subject of pleasant allusion by both of us during General

Grant's life, and was not unfrequently alluded to in Washington circle whilst I was U. S. Senator. In fact the last time he visited me at Decatur Illinois, the subject was all gone over again. I notice the General does no give it as fully as he might have done, or as he sometimes did in our per sonal conversations. We became warmly attached to each other, and it i a matter of no little gratification to me that I believe I retained his respec and warm regard through life. I believe this is the first time the interview has ever been reduced to writing by me. It was far more ridiculous tha it can be made to appear by any account of it on paper.

Hoping you will excuse any apparent neglect in answering you letter,

I remain
Very Respectfully Yours,
R. J. Oglesby.

PROCEEDS FROM FORD'S *HISTORY OF ILLINOIS*

The manuscript history of Illinois, written by former Governo Thomas Ford three years before his death, of which mention was mad in the March *Journal*, constituted the principal asset of five orphaned chi dren of the ex-Governor. Ford died of tuberculosis at Peoria on Novemb 3, 1850. Mrs. Ford died of cancer on October 12 in the same year.

Sales of Ford's history, which was published in 1854 by S. C. Grig & Company of Chicago, gave the Ford children $750, according to Dav McCulloch's *History of Peoria County*. Ford's estate at death netted on $146.06.

The former Governor was survived by three daughters, Anna, Ma F., and Julia E., and two sons, Sewell G. and Thomas Ford. John Hamli former state senator and capitalist, was guardian of Mary, Julia, Sewel and Thomas. Dr. Edward Dickinson adopted the three girls. Thomas Moore adopted Thomas, the three-year-old son, youngest of the form Governor's children. Ford was a Democrat. The foster fathers of his ch dren were Whigs.

Gen. James Shields, auditor of public accounts during part of Ford term as Governor, undertook to edit and market the manuscript histor The *Peoria Weekly Republican* of April 20, 1855, printed a communicati signed "Justice" in which the writer complained that the Ford childr received small royalties from the sale of the book. It was stated that mo than 7,000 copies were printed in two different styles of binding and so at $1.25 and $2.50 a volume. "Justice" said that the contract for public tion granted the children twelve and one-half cents for each copy sol The writer estimated the profit on the cheaper edition at thirty cents copy and on the costlier edition at eighty cents.

Hamlin invested guardianship funds in stock of the Peoria & Bureau Valley Rail Road Company.

Former Governor Ford first was buried in the Peoria City Cemetery and many years later reburied in Springdale Cemetery. The state in 1895 erected a monument to his memory.

ERNEST E. EAST.

PEORIA, ILL.

ANOTHER ILLINOIS SONG

Editor,
Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society

DEAR SIR:

Some months ago you asked in the *Journal* whether there has been any song other than our state song in which the word "Illinois" occurs.

At the Whiteside School near Belleville, where I taught for eighteen years, my pupils delighted in singing the song which I give below. It was sung to the tune of "There's a good time coming, help it on, help it on," which many readers will doubtless recognize.

I first came across the words in one of the many school journals to which I subscribed. They appear here as memorized by my sister, Dorothy M. Whiteside, who was one of my pupils at the Whiteside School.

ILLINOIS

There's a grand old Prairie State,
Illinois, Illinois!
Home of Lincoln and of Grant,
Illinois, Illinois.

Thousands of her children stand
With their books and pens in hand
Learning how to rule our land,
Illinois, Illinois.

Oh, we love to sing of thee,
Illinois, Illinois,
Land whose people always free,
Illinois, Illinois,

Have advanced from ground to ground
Till upon the upmost round
Nations now thy praises sound,
Illinois, Illinois.

We're thy children, loyal, true,
Illinois, Illinois,
As the boys who wore the blue,
Illinois, Illinois;

And some time we hope to be
Men and women, equal, free—
Worthy both of Heav'n and thee,
Illinois, Illinois.

BELLEVILLE, ILL. DAISY L. WHITESIDE.

THE ILLINOIS SCRAPBOOK

EIGHTY YEARS AGO

STARTLING INTELLIGENCE!
TREASON IN THE NATIONAL CAPITAL
PRESIDENT LINCOLN ASSASSINATED!
THE WORK TOO SURELY DONE
ATTEMPT UPON THE LIFE OF SECRETARY SEWARD

The following startling and afflicting intelligence, received at three o'clock this morning, will cast a pall of gloom over a land so lately rejoicing in the hour of victory. PRESIDENT LINCOLN IS PROBABLY NOW NO MORE. The nation mourns a loved and honored President, a true patriot and an honest man. The emissaries of treason have at last done their infernal work.

About the same moment an assassin obtruded himself into Mr. Seward's chamber and made a murderous assault upon him and others present. . . .

WASHINGTON, April 15, 12:30 A.M.—The president was shot in a theatre to-night, and is probably mortally wounded.

SECOND DISPATCH

The President is not expected to live through the night. He was shot at the theatre. Secretary Seward was also assassinated. No arteries were cut. Particulars soon.

Daily Illinois State Journal, April 15, 1865.

THE NATIONAL CALAMITY
THE ASSASSINATION OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN
HOW RECEIVED THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY
ATTEMPT TO ASSASSINATE SECY. STANTON
ANDREW JOHNSON SWORN IN AS PRESIDENT
PROCLAMATION OF GOV. STONE OF IOWA

REPORTED CAPTURE OF J. W. BOOTH, THE ASSASSIN

SECRETARY SEWARD NOT FATALLY WOUNDED

THE NOVA SCOTIAN PARLIAMENT ADJOURNS ON THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF PRESIDENT'S DEATH

THE WHOLE PEOPLE IN MOURNING

MEETING OF ILLINOIS CITIZENS IN WASHINGTON

COMMITTEES, RESOLUTIONS, ETC., ETC.

Chicago, April 15.—President Lincoln was shot through the head last night at Ford's Theatre and died this morning. The assassin is supposed to be J. Wilkes Booth, the actor. . . .

War Department.
Washington, April 15, 1865.

To Major General Dix:

Abraham Lincoln died this morning at twenty-two minutes after seven o'clock.

E. M. Stanton, Secretary of War.

Daily Illinois State Journal, April 17, 1865.

COMMENCEMENTS FIFTY YEARS AGO

University of Illinois

Champaign, Ill., June 10—[Special] Class day at the University of Illinois is not as much a mere perfunctory proceeding as it is at many of the large universities. In the East and at the University of Michigan it is looked upon not only by the undergraduates but by a considerable portion of the graduating class as an excellent function to avoid. . . .

Here at the Illinois flourishing university, however, a different sentiment seems to prevail. The reason for it may be that valedictorians in the past have been more merciful than at the other large colleges. . . .

Class day was duly observed by the graduating students of the university today. The weather was as aggressive as it usually is on such occasions. A thermometer in a shady spot beside the botanical laboratory registered 96° at noon and was steadily climbing. Inside the chapel, where the exercises were held, the mercury might have jumped out of the top of the tube at one bound. Nearly 1,000 people were present, the balloon like sleeves of the ladies' lawn gowns dominating the scene. . . .

John C. Quade of Moline, Ill., President of the outgoing class, presided. . . . G. H. Campbell of Louisville, Ill., delivered the motto oration. . . . R. R. Porter of '96 received the hatchet from the seniors and will guard it as a sacred trust during the coming year. . . . Miss Mariana Green read the class poem. . . . M. S. Ketchum of Elmwood, Ill., delivered the valedictory address. . . . Miss Marion Thompson read the class history and Miss Grace Moore spoke the prophecy. Then C. C. Webster presented the class memorial. . . . An adjournment to the open air in front of Memorial Hall followed.

When the graduating class was seated in a circle on the grass Peter Junkersfeld spoke the farewell address to the campus. Then came the unique ceremony of burning theses. Each member of the class solemnly deposited the subject of his graduation thesis in a copper urn. President Quade applied a match and the flames shot up amid the jeers of the class. The smoking of the pipe of peace ended the class day program. Long-stemmed wooden pipes, which looked as if they might have been made in a planing mill, were passed around. Then some ominous looking tobacco was handed out. Whoever provided it was no connoisseur, for it proved villainously bad. The co-eds coughed and the men involuntarily sought their cigaret cases for relief. In fact, that tobacco was all that marred the success of class day at Champaign.

Chicago Daily Tribune, June 11, 1895.

Illinois Wesleyan University

Bloomington, Ill., June 11.—. . . . Amie Chapel was filled with a fashionable audience tonight upon the occasion of the commencement of the College of Law [of Illinois Wesleyan University]. The following was the literary program:

"America's Arena," William Wallace Whitmore, Gardner, Ill.; "Some Peculiarities of the Common Law Regarding the Rights of Women," George K. Thompson, Randolph; "The Sovereign Power," Herbert J. Thompson, Bloomington; "Commercial Paper," Seaglin J. Sammon, Bloomington; "The Evolution of Law Respecting the Rights of Married Women," Charles E. Ritcher, Troy; "The Genius of Discontent," Thomas L. Pollock, Bloomington; "America," J. Bert Miller, Kankakee; "Wendell Phillips," Joseph Ivins, Quincy; "Moral Degradation," William C. Graves, Ocoya; "Evolution of Labor Rights," Frederick W. Daws, Albion; "Patriotism," Edwin G. Creamer, Tolono; "True Americanism," Charles M. Connor, Toledo; "Equity," Charles S. Cooler,

Toledo; "The Lawyer," Arthur M. Conrad, Bloomington; "Abstracts of Title and Their Examination," Philip T. Clancey, Bloomington; "The Genesis of Law," E. Thomas Bunting, Springfield; "The Petit Jury System," John J. Bell, Lacon; "An American Optimism," William M. Barnes, Copsey; "Pessimists in American Politics," Irving S. Banks, Belvidere; "The Greatest American," William M. Andrews, Decatur.

The Degrees of Bachelor of Law were conferred upon the graduates and the diplomas were given by Judge Owen T. Reeves, dean of the faculty.

Chicago Daily Tribune, June 12, 1895.

THE TEMPER OF THE TIMES

White Hall, Ill., May 24, '61

Mr. A. J. Lovelace:

Sir:—I sit down to drop you a few lines, we are all well, it is a long time since I have heard from Texas. I have not heard from any of you since you wrote to me last fall. I have written several letters since, and got none. I want you to write to me once more, and let me know what you are all doing in Texas, whether you are in for the Union or disunion and traitors to your country. If so, I do not own you as relations, I love my relations as good as any body, but I love my country more than them. I have not volunteered yet, but if it is necessary I will.

We may meet on the battle field; if so you will see me in defence of the best Government that ever God gave to man. If you are all disunionists, I look upon you as traitors and tories to your country. We have 250,000 men now in the service, and we can raise ten times that if necessary. You know some of the boys that have volunteered under Captain Winters, John Bell, Amburg and Mart Campbell, David Baker, George and Harvy Strickland, and lots of boys out of White Hall. There were three companies made in this county. A man dare not open his mouth here in favor of the South. They came very near swinging old Bob Mitcher, for his traitorous doctrines. You know him—he used to preach in the brush.

There were 60 companies in this State, that could not get in, at the present call. We calculate to give the South a convincer this time, that they can't do as they please. They have been breeding a scab for several years, over in Texas, hanging innocent men, and we calculate to make you remember Timber Creek Church, before we are done; as the Mexicans

did Alamo. Write to me how you all feel. I hope you are all for the Union, so no more.

H. N. Lorton.

We have the best prospects for crops and fruit, I ever saw in my life.

FROM AN UNIDENTIFIED CONTEMPORARY NEWSPAPER.

THE MUSE IN COMMERCE

GOODS!!!
Of fine and noble selections—
All colors, kinds and complexions—
Cheap as the cheapest at that,
Are being sold now-a-days—at

BARRETT'S:
Going off hourly, in boxes and sacks,
The richest, finest and best of nic-nacks
The clerks are busy early and late—
Using the yard stick as well as the slate.

HAIL COLUMBIA!!
Groceries—of all kinds; (such as)
Gimps, and window blinds.
Teas, sugars, and cassimeres;
Oils, candies, and cashmeres;
Indigo, trace chains, and nails;
Fulled cloths, satinetts and pails.
Raisins, ribbons and rice;
Molasses, gimlets and spice.

NUTMEGS AND RAT TRAPS.
Tin-ware, and baby's socks;
Eggs, boots and brass clocks;
Ginger, candles and cradles;
Glauber salts, tobacco and ladles.
Lanterns, real estate and glues;
Lead, shot, spices and shoes.
Tweedles, brooms and madder red;
Basins, log chains, red and black lead.

NOTIONS AND FIXINS!

Razors, perfumery and glass;
Hand saws, white satin—first class!
Paints, saw-files and silk;
Butter and cheese made of skim-milk!

LADY'S BONNETS AND DYE-STUFFS.

Mill saws, K. jeans, and spades;
Calicoes, caps and sun shades—
Garden seeds, shovels and forks;
Last year's almanacs and corks;
Hard times, cotton yarn and files;
Silk and woolen goods—all styles.
French goods, "tunnels," buttons;
Knives, forks—for steak or mutton!

CINNAMON AND CROCKERY!

Mulls, muslins, laces and tar,
Cheap—as cheapest and cheaper by far
Clay pipes, whips, shovels and tongs;
Bonnet strings—ballads and songs.
Lamp oil, lamp-black and black lead;
Fiddle strings, marbles, greyish and red,
Bleached, unbleached shirting and sheetings
Songs for whig and democrat meetings.

JEW'S HARPS, SCISSORS AND SCHOOL BOOKS!

Bed cords, ticking, powder and shot,
Kettles, hair oil, combs and pots;
Flannels, tin ware, and lady's fans,
Hair combs, loaf sugar and moll-cans
Mittens, griddles—black and blue ink;
And other things of which I can't think.
Promissory notes, and duns quite stale
Warranted now due!or no sale.

For all, or any of the above articles, and thousands of others, just call at the cheapest store in Freeport—directly opposite the Stephenson County Hotel—don't forget the place, but keep constantly in your mind that interesting word—cheap. Freeport, January 15, 1848.

FULWIDER, *History of Stephenson County, Illinois*, I:162-64.

TRIALS OF A CONCERT PIANIST

Thursday, December 14 [1864]

Concert this evening at Peoria. A very ugly place. The houses are mean and for the most part one-story. The streets are badly laid out. The concert hall offers one peculiarity; the platform, which is like a theatre, is so high that it gives me the vertigo to look down upon the audience; we all fear to approach the edge lest we should be drawn into the abyss. It slopes so much that it gives one a sensation analogous to that of an inexperienced person upon a roof.

Audience numerous and enthusiastic. Hotel passable. Snow has fallen during the night. The river is frozen and is covered with hundreds of skaters, but few pretty women. Their costumes are indescribable. I forgot to say that at the hotel the waiters are girls. Besieged fortresses! . . .

Springfield, Illinois, December 20, 1864

Concert this evening. This time the audience listens to us. Last time private conversations completely masked the music. The audience disposed to enjoy what we give them, but it it too late! the impression which, after two visits, Springfield leaves upon me is very disagreeable. I have tried hard to exert myself, I cannot warm up, and I play like a warm-water spigot. Besides, the hall is horrible; a little, narrow, dirty staircase leads to a kind of Mansard six feet square, filled with old and dirty objects. It is the artists' room. The small hall is bad for hearing. You go on to the stage by stairs which are like a ladder. Dohler plays "Yankee Doodle" and "Carnaval de Venise," two pieces which never fail in exciting the enthusiasm of the audience, but which invariably next day bring out a severe lecture from the newspapers. Fortunately we know what to think of it. It is only to save appearances that these gentlemen protest. They like this trivial music secretly, but, like all those who are conscious of their inferiority, they wish to conceal it by openly affecting to despise what secretly they love. O hypocrisy and vanity! . . .

To make a victorious tour of concerts in the West is for an artist to gain his chevrons. Bad hotels, snow, mud, railroad accidents, delays, setting out at three o'clock in the morning, etc. It requires an iron constitution and a flinty will to succeed at it. I am tempted to have inscribed at the head of my programmes—"G. has made the tour of the West three times," as the French legions inscribe "Arcole, Marengo, Austerlitz" on their standards.

Louis Moreau Gottschalk, *Notes of a Pianist*, (Philadelphia, 1881), 322, 326, 328.

NEWS AND COMMENT

Unless prevailing regulations of the Office of Defense Transportation regarding conventions are modified in the near future, there will be no annual meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society, in the ordinary sense, this year. This decision was made by the Directors at a special meeting held in Peoria on January 26. To comply with the Society's constitution, the Directors, who will be called together to conduct necessary business, will resolve themselves into an annual meeting of the Society. There will be no program.

If present regulations are modified in time to permit the planning of a program, this decision will be reversed and members will be notified.

Three months ago, with the publication of *Lincoln Bibliography, 1839-1939*,[1] by Jay Monaghan, the Illinois State Historical Library brought to completion a scholarly project undertaken several years ago.

Prior to this publication, the field of Lincoln bibliography had not been unworked. Of several compilations, those best known were the *Lincoln Bibliography* of Daniel Fish (published originally in 1900, and revised and enlarged in 1906), and the supplementary *Lincoln Bibliography* of J. B. Oakleaf (1925). Neither work, however, was wholly satisfactory. Both compilers were more or less inconsistent in their inclusions, and neither provided any description of listed items beyond that which was afforded by the full title. As time passed, moreover, many items not to be found in either book came to light, and more than a thousand were published subsequent to the date of Oakleaf's work. Besides, both the Fish and Oakleaf bibliographies were published in small editions, and many collectors and libraries have had to do without them.

Lincoln Bibliography, 1839-1939, lists 3,958 items, and perhaps three times that many variants and different printings are identified. Each item is described, though not evaluated, unless its nature is fully apparent from its title. Only those books and pamphlets dealing in major part with Lincoln have been included. The location of at least one copy of each rare item is given. Title pages of books printed in such languages as Japanese and Russian, which baffle nearly all readers, have been repro-

[1] Illinois State Historical Library, Springfield. 2 vols., $5.00. Except in the case of libraries and institutions, remittances must accompany orders.

duced. The arrangement is chronological—a departure from precedent in Lincoln bibliography. There is a full index.

Mr. Monaghan is also the author of the first full-length account of Lincoln's conduct of foreign affairs—*Diplomat in Carpet Slippers.*[2] The subject has, of course, been dealt with in general histories and in some biographies—notably the great work of Nicolay and Hay—but this is the first detailed study in which Lincoln himself is the center of attention.

One might easily conclude that Lincoln, with a bitter civil war on his hands, and faced with such critical problems as emancipation and reconstruction, necessarily paid little attention to foreign affairs. Mr. Monaghan shows, however, that the shrewd good sense and political skill of the prairie lawyer were often at work in this field also. He had a hand in many diplomatic appointments at the outset of his administration, and in almost every major crisis his own attitude determined national policy. The manner in which he took the sting from an early dispatch of Seward's that would probably have brought on war with Great Britain, and his pacific decision in the case of Mason and Slidell, are well known, but these are only two of many examples of his effective intervention. Other aspects of foreign relations—Northern propagandists abroad, and the effect of domestic policies and events on European powers—play prominent parts in the narrative.

Foreign affairs are often written of as if nations were impersonal entities. Mr. Monaghan, on the other hand, never loses sight of personalties. American statesmen, propagandists, and mere meddlers, as well as a host of European diplomats, become human beings instead of only names in his pages. And Lincoln emerges with one more clearly demonstrated claim to fame.

The oldest Lincoln group in the country is the Lincoln Group of Chicago. Ever since 1931 the Group has met for luncheon several times each year. In the course of that fourteen-year period many papers of unusual merit have been read before it. Ten of these were published in 1936 under the title, *Lincoln Group Papers;* now twelve more are presented in a new volume, *Lincoln Group Papers, Second Series.*[3] The contents follow:

[2] Bobbs Merrill. $4.00.
[3] J. Henri Ripstra, 5 South Wabash, Chicago. $5.00.

M. L. Houser, "Some Religious Influences Which Surrounded Lincoln;" Fern Nance Pond, "Intellectual New Salem in Lincoln's Day;" Muriel Bernitt Drell, "Lincoln's Hope Deferred;" Harry J. Lytle, "The Lincoln-Douglas Debates;" Beverly W. Howe, "Two Hours and Two Minutes;" Marshall Solberg, "The International Aspects of Lincoln's Life;" Harry E. Pratt, "The Growth and Administration of Lincoln's Estate;" Horace Saunders, "Abraham Lincoln's Partner—Billy Herndon;" Clint Clay Tilton, "Ward Hill Lamon in Bloomington, Illinois;" Ernest E. East, "Lincoln and Ingersoll;" Ralph G. Lindstrom, "Abraham Lincoln—A Living Textbook;" and Edgar DeWitt Jones, "What I Have Learned from Abraham Lincoln."

Abraham Lincoln's professional connection with the Illinois Central Railroad Company is the subject of a recent brochure, *Abraham Lincoln, An Illinois Central Lawyer*, by Elmer A. Smith,[4] the Illinois Central's Senior General Attorney. Mr. Smith traces Lincoln's activities during the eight years (1853-1861) when he was in the road's retainer, and concludes that he did more work for the Illinois Central than for any other client. Mr. Smith's conclusions are well balanced, and his citations show familiarity with all pertinent sources. The brochure was read as a paper at a meeting of the Western Conference of Railway Counsel, February 13, 1945.

Anyone who is inclined to think that the present-day physician knows something less than he should about human ailments and their cures is advised to read *The Midwest Pioneer: His Ills, Cures, & Doctors*,[5] by Madge E. Pickard and R. Carlyle Buley. Long before the skeptic has finished this account of "yarb and root" doctors and their potions, "regulars," Thomsonians, Eclectics, homeopaths, hydropaths, phrenologists and psychometrists he will be thanking a kind providence that he lives in the twentieth century. How anyone, a hundred years ago, managed to survive the ministrations of the healers, orthodox as well as irregular, is a major mystery in the light of Pickard and Buley's work. Then, and for many years afterward, the fortunate ones were those who allowed unaided nature to take her course.

Much that the authors have to say is almost incredible, and much is amusing. To some readers these qualities may obscure the fact that their

[4] Privately printed.
[5] R. E. Banta, Crawsfordsville, Ind. $5.00.

book is a solid contribution to social history, and one which is based, as their "Bibliographical Note" shows, on extensive research. In addition to fantastic "cures" and theories of health, they have included valuable accounts of the beginnings of medical colleges, medical publications, and state regulation of practice in the Middle West.

The format of the book would be noteworthy at any time; in these days of lightweight paper and minuscule margins it seems almost miraculous.

Dealing also with the history of medicine in the Middle West is *Malaria in the Upper Mississippi Valley, 1760-1900*, by Erwin H. Ackerknecht.[6] Whereas Pickard and Buley had the general reader in mind, Ackerknecht has written primarily for medical scientists. Fortunately, he was aware of the fact that his subject matter was, as he put it, "part and parcel of one of the most fascinating episodes in human history: the conquest and settlement of the West, the great continental heart of North America," and therefore his study, too, has general interest.

Of the five states studied in this monograph—Illinois, Missouri, Iowa, Wisconsin, and Minnesota—Illinois receives the major share of attention. Curiously, malaria seems not to have attained serious proportions until about 1760, although there had been permanent settlements in the Illinois Country since 1700. After 1760, however, it became widespread, and so remained until 1880, when its prevalence declined sharply. Reasons for both rise and decline are advanced.

Malaria was dangerous enough in the Middle West to have hindered settlement and progress seriously. That it did not was due largely, Mr. Ackerknecht finds, to the pioneer's attitude towards it—an attitude typified by the remark: "He ain't sick, he's only got the ager." A man might shake until his teeth rattled one day and burn with fever the next, but in the process of building new homes and new cities, those were mere discomforts.

Thomas Hall Shastid has lived a full life. Born seventy-nine years ago at Pittsfield, Illinois, he has practiced in several cities, taught in medical school, and written extensively on ophthalmology, his specialty. He has edited textbooks and encyclopedias, and contributed to them. By his own writings, and through organizations, he has sought to further the cause of international peace. He has written several novels, several

[6] Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore 18, Md. $2.00.

books of medical history, and, with the completion of *My Second Life*, two autobiographies.

My Second Life is both sequel and complement to *Tramping to Failur* (1937), the author's earlier autobiographical volume. It is a huge book— 1,159 pages—and thus there is room within its covers for a vast variety of subjects. Many pages deal with Dr. Shastid's boyhood in Pike County Illinois, and with his father's medical practice there; and there are long passages relating to his own experiences in education and early practice The book is largely conversational and anecdotal, but there are many long footnotes that are miniature historical essays. Some of the most interesting of these concern Abraham Lincoln and his associations with Pittsfield and Pittsfield people.

Dr. Shastid closes the book with a modest prophecy. "Not many will read this book," he writes. "It is neither a murder story, nor a 'bugger' story, nor yet a fraudulent peace proposal, nor a lying pro-war volume. But it is a record of highly important matters and it is true. For those reasons there may, in each generation still to come, be some persons that will care to read it." One may be sure that time will bear out this final prediction.

Fifty Golden Years is, as its sub-title indicates, the story of a city and a business. The city is East St. Louis; the business the State Savings and Loan Association of that city.

The brochure, published in 1944, contains a biographical sketch of Charles R. Hissrich, first secretary of the Association; a fairly detailed historical sketch of East St. Louis; pictures of directors and officers of the Association; and pictures of East St. Louis taken during the last fifty years. Of these there are well over fifty, all skillfully reproduced. Altogether, the brochure is an admirable publication. The State Savings and Loan Association is to be commended for taking this means of marking its fiftieth anniversary.

Growing With Rockford is another anniversary publication. This time the institution is the Third National Bank of Rockford, the occasion the ninetieth anniversary, reached in December, 1944. The booklet consists of reprints of twenty newspaper advertisements, each of which chronicles an event in the history of the Third National Bank, and events of interest from Rockford's past.

[7] George Wahr, Ann Arbor, Michigan. $10.00.

Ten years ago *Stormy Years*, the autobiography of Carter H. Harri-
ɔn, was published. Now comes *Growing Up With Chicago*,[8] which the
ıthor describes as the second half of his autobiography, and which the
ıblisher calls a sequel.

True to his title, the author devotes considerable space to his boy-
ɔod and youth. He also includes many experiences of his five terms as
ayor of Chicago, and a résumé of his life during the last ten years. Much
the book is reminiscent and anecdotal, and many of the stories have a
stiness that befits and at the same time explains the turbulent city with
hich the author has been so closely identified. *Growing Up With Chicago*
both history and the record of the foliation of a personality. Although
ıe author was in his eighty-fifth year when it was written, the book has
ıe zestful quality of youth that makes it good reading from beginning
end.

In 1923 Congress created the American Battle Monuments Commis-
ɔn for the purpose of commemorating the services of American forces in
ırope during the first World War. The Commission undertook detailed
ıdies of the operations of each American division which had front-line
ttle service. These studies are now being published as booklets, and the
ıe dealing with the 33d Division, in which Illinois National Guard units
edominated, has just made its appearance.[9]

The booklet is a front-line infantry study, with no more mention
other arms and movements of reserves than is necessary for the under-
ınding of the infantry action. However, casualty and strength tables
ve been added. Four large-scale maps are included.

One hundred and one years ago Joseph and Hyrum Smith, Mormon
ophet and Patı iarch, were murdered in the Hancock County jail at Car-
age, Illinois. In 1866 the jail was sold to a private buyer, and it re-
ıined in private hands until 1903, when it was acquired by the Church
Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints. It was not until 1938, however, that
stodians were placed in charge and the premises restored to a condition
fitting their religious and historic interest.

Old Carthage Jail is the title of a booklet recently published by the
ɜtodians, Joseph A. and Eunice McRae. It includes accounts of the build-

[8] Ralph Fletcher Seymour, publisher, Chicago. $3.50.
[9] *33d Division, Summary of Operations in the World War*. Government Printing Office. $1.25.

ing of the jail and the murder of the Smiths, and a section devoted to ap praisals of Joseph Smith by contemporaries. Copies may be obtained, fo a nominal price, from the authors at Carthage.

The nature of the latest volume (No. X) in the series, *Augustan Historical Society Publications*, is clearly indicated by its long but descrip tive title: *Selected Documents Dealing with the Organization of the First Congr gations and the First Conferences of the Augustana Synod and their Growth unt 1860*. The documents presented are mainly minutes, which have bee translated from the original Swedish to English. Among the Illinois co gregations represented in this volume are Andover, Moline, and Princ ton. A second volume is promised for future publication. I. O. Nothstei is the editor.

In the December, 1944, *Journal* mention was made of a booklet o the history of Bloomington and McLean County which the McLea County Historical Society published in connection with the 1944 annu meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society. That booklet, revised a improved by the addition of a fine map of Bloomington, and bearing t name of Wayne C. Townley as author, has just been issued in a new e tion with the title, *Historic McLean*.[10] It is a meritorious publication, a one which other historical societies might well emulate.

The attention of readers interested in archaeology is directed to recent publication, *Archaeological Explorations in Jo Daviess County, Illino* by John W. Bennett.[11] This volume reports in detail investigations co ducted by William B. Nickerson from 1895 to 1901, and by field parties the University of Chicago in 1926, 1927, and 1932. There are many dra ings and photographs. The author is Ryerson Fellow in Archaeology the University of Chicago.

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin has recently provide valuable key to its fine manuscript collection by publishing a *Guide to Manuscripts of the Wisconsin Historical Society*. More than 800 collectio

[10] Cloth, $1.00; paper, 50 cents.
[11] University of Chicago Press. $1.75

inging in size from ten items to many thousands, are described. In the ain, the collections relate to Wisconsin history, but several—notably ose which have to do with the history of labor and socialism in the nited States, and those which consist of copies of records in French, ritish, and American archives—have much broader relevancy. Miscel-neous manuscripts and collections containing fewer than ten items are ot included in the *Guide*, nor is the Draper Collection of 75,000 pieces. his collection was covered by a *Descriptive List* published by the Society 1 1906, and still in print.

Most of the entries in the *Guide* were prepared by workers supplied y the Historical Records Survey of Wisconsin. The work was supervised y Miss Alice E. Smith, curator of the Society's manuscript division, hose name, as editor, the *Guide* bears.

We welcome a new historical organization and publication in the reat Lakes Historical Society and its quarterly bulletin, *Inland Seas*. he inception of the organization is described in the first number of *Inland as*—the issue for January, 1945:

On April 26, 1944, in the Cleveland Public Library, a group of Cleve-nders met to organize the Great Lakes Historical Society. Among the mber were ship captains, newspaper men, yachtsmen, skippers, libra-ans and lake enthusiasts. A constitution was adopted, and officers ected. The president, Alva Bradley, is a Cleveland shipowner and finan-er. Clarence S. Metcalf, the executive vice-president, is librarian of the leveland Public Library, which for the time being is the headquarters id mailing address of the Society.

The first number of *Inland Seas* is an attractively printed, well-illus-ated publication of forty-eight pages. It contains several articles, a col-ctors' department, book reviews, and the list of members.

The March number of the *Indiana Magazine of History* contains sev-al articles which should be of interest to readers of the *Journal*. The first ticle, "Kaskaskia, 'The Versailles of the West,' " by Natalia M. Belt-g, is an account of life in Kaskaskia during the first fifty years of that ttlement's existence. The second—"The Urbanization of the Middle est"—is a study, by Francis P. Weisenburger, of the factors which imulated the growth of towns and villages in the five states of the Old orthwest. In the third article Jay Monaghan analyzes the attitudes—

vindictive or tolerant—of the ministers whose funeral sermons were pu lished in the first weeks after Lincoln's death.

Phases of the history of transportation in Illinois are touched upo in an article, "La Crosse River History and the Davidsons," by H. Hirshheimer, in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* for March, 1945. 1860 William F. and Peyton Davidson of La Crosse, Wisconsin, organize a steamship line and challenged the Galena and Northern lines for tl trade of the Upper Mississippi. Mr. Hirshheimer's article summarizes tl operations of the two brothers from that date until the 1880's.

This same number of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* contains article by Robert K. Richardson, "How Beloit Won Its College," whi shows that Beloit had its origin in the same educational movement th brought Illinois, Knox, and Rockford colleges into existence. The artic serves as a reminder—and one is needed now and then—that the strea of history is rarely diverted by state boundaries.

In the January, 1945, number of *Mid-America*, the quarterly revie published by the Institute of Jesuit History at Loyola University, Je Delanglez publishes further fruits of the exacting scholarship which he applying to the French period of North American history. The first of t two articles in this issue deals with the first thirty years of the life Louis Jolliet. Although the great voyage of discovery with Marque falls within this period, the author does not include an account of it. T basic sources, he explains, have not yet been "properly analyzed." A ticles on other phases of Jolliet's career will appear in future issues *Mid-America*.

Delanglez' second article is a detailed and complex analysis of M quette's autograph map of the Mississippi River, the only extant au graph document by a member of the famous expedition. This is one the basic sources referred to in the foregoing paragraph. Another, D lon's account of the discovery of the Mississippi, was the subject of article by this same author in *Mid-America* for October, 1944. The oth primary sources will be discussed in future articles.

Mr. Forest H. Sweet, well-known autograph dealer, invites the operation of private and institutional Lincoln collectors in the prepa

ion of a Lincoln Directory. The Directory will include a listing of all ollectors and collections, data as to size and nature (autographs, prints, ooks and pamphlets, etc.), membership in historical groups, and services ffered. The usefulness of such a publication is obvious. Listing is volun- ıry and without charge. On request Mr. Sweet, whose address is P.O. ox 156, Battle Creek, Michigan, will supply application forms.

Dr. L. Hubbard Shattuck, Director of the Chicago Historical Society nce 1927, died in Wesley Memorial Hospital on March 29 after a short lness.

Dr. Shattuck was primarily responsible for planning the building hich the Chicago Historical Society now occupies, and for making its useum one of the finest institutions of its kind in existence.

Dr. Shattuck was born in Wellsboro, Pa., in 1891. Before coming to hicago, he was assistant director of the Cleveland Community Fund. In)37 he was awarded the Palm d'Academie, and in 1942 Bucknell Uni- ersity, of which he was an alumnus, conferred on him the honorary de- ee of Doctor of Laws.

Dr. Shattuck is survived by his widow, Elaine B. Shattuck, and by ıe daughter, Shirley Elizabeth.

A prize of $10,000 for the most important and interesting original ook-length manuscript on any phase of American history is being offered Charles Scribner's Sons, under the auspices of The Society of American istorians. Manuscripts must be typed, double-spaced, and at least 80,000 ords in length. They may be submitted any time between October 1, 45, and February 1, 1946. The following judges will decide on the ward: Carl Becker, Esther Forbes, Sen. James William Fulbright, Dumas alone, and Henry Merritt Wriston. The winning work will be pub- hed in the fall of 1946. The purpose of the contest, which is being held commemorate the one hundredth anniversary of Charles Scribner's ns, is "to make history readable."

The Bureau County Historical Society is continually adding new hibits to its museum in the courthouse at Princeton. The large increase the number of out-of-state people who visited the museum in 1944, as mpared with the 1943 figure, is evidence that the efforts of the Society

to perpetuate the history of the county are widely appreciated. In 1944 there were 143 out-of-state visitors registered, while in 1943 the corresponding number was 69. The total registration for the year 1944, including people from Illinois as well as from other states, was 2,130. In 1943 the total number of visitors was 1,517. Miss Hattie Whittaker is curator of the museum.

Mrs. Albert Diehm was introduced as the "Spotlight Citizen" of the month at the February meeting of the Cahokia Historical Society of St. Clair County. Charles F. Gergen gave an account of the centennial ceremonies held at the old courthouse in St. Louis on February 22, Ralph J. Huff presented motion pictures on current events, and reports from standing committees were made. The Society voted to participate in the Quiz of Two Cities to be broadcast over radio station KMOX in St. Louis. A buffet supper preceded the meeting. Music was furnished by the Misses Norma Jean Finkeldie and Rosemary Green.

The original manuscript of the Gettysburg address, which is on permanent display in the Illinois State Historical Library in Springfield, was lent to the Chicago Historical Society from February 8 to 19. The manuscript—third one of the five copies which Lincoln is known to have made—was presented to the people of Illinois by the school children of the state, and Marshall Field, in March, 1944.

The Chicago Historical Society exhibited the manuscript in connection with its permanent Lincoln exhibit. Twenty dioramas, giving a chronological view of Lincoln's life, from the Hodgenville birthplace to the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C., are included in that display. There are, in addition, various other Lincoln exhibits in the Society's building in Lincoln Park.

Anyone who has lived in the south side community of Chicago for twenty-five years or more is eligible for membership in the South Shore Historical Society. At the March meeting of the organization, a program which included slides of "the good old days" and community singing was presented. Arthur C. Clemensen is president of the Society, Mayme A. Gerds, vice-president, and Mary Swanson Werner, recording secretary.

The annual meeting of the West Side Historical Society (Chicago) was held on January 29, with T. H. Golightly, president, in charge of the meeting. John C. Miller gave an illustrated talk on "The Story of Illinois." A display of historical items from the collection of the Society was arranged for the evening. Included in these was a series of photographs which follow the course of the south branch of the Chicago River from its source to the Chicago portage. These pictures were made by Miss Alice Baum, Oak Park. Another feature of the display was an exhibit of photographs and documents relating to Peter Crawford, Chicago pioneer.

Dr. Russell Anderson, curator of the agricultural department of the Museum of Science and Industry, was the speaker at the February meeting of the Historical Society of Woodlawn (Chicago). His topic was "The First Auto Race in America."

A systematic effort to gather information concerning the history of Hinsdale is being made by a committee sponsored by the Du Page County Historical Society and The Friends of the Library. Questionnaires sent to many old residents of the village have provided considerable material on early days in the community. Anyone who has photographs, manuscripts, or memos regarding past events is urged to leave them at the Public Library where they will be considered as a loan for reference purposes.

When all the information is assembled the data will be given to some person or persons who will write a history of Hinsdale. Members of the committee who are now engaged in the fact-finding work include Hugh Dugan, Miss Gladys Cable, Lester Childs, Marshall Keig, Mrs. Gertrude Ketchum, Raleigh Klein, Dr. H. B. Raymond, Mrs. E. F. Hines, Mr. and Mrs. George E. Ruchty, Miss Emma Ostrum, Mrs. Courtney D. Freeman, Mrs. F. C. Brown, Mrs. Chauncey T. Lamb, Charles O. Ring, Mrs. J. W. Groves, and Mrs. Walter Field.

The schools of Edwards County, past and present, were discussed by County Superintendent V. H. Judge at the March meeting of the Edwards County Historical Society. Mrs. Virginia Strawn Skinner, president, conducted the business session.

"A Permanent Evanston War Memorial" was discussed by Owen L. Coon before members of the Evanston Historical Society on March 13. At the April meeting of the organization, Pascale Gallicchio spoke on "The History of Transportation on the North Shore."

The seventy-sixth anniversary of the incorporation of Glencoe was celebrated by the Glencoe Historical Society on March 23. A play was presented by a group of Girl Scouts, and Mrs. Frank A. Windes, Winnetka, presented to the Society a cross section of an old oak tree which once stood in Glencoe. Mrs. C. K. Beebe, program chairman, planned the evening's entertainment.

Dr. Preston Bradley was the speaker at the Lincoln Day dinner sponsored by the Lee County Historical Society in Dixon on February 12. Three hundred people were in attendance. The April meeting of the Society was held in the Loveland Community House, with Mrs. Wilbur Fulfs as the speaker. Her subject was "The History of Palmyra Township."

At a recent business meeting of the Society, the following officers were elected: Miss Molly Duffy, president; Mrs. Henry Warner, first vice-president; F. X. Newcomer, second vice-president; Mrs. Ira Lanphier, treasurer; and Mrs. Theodore J. Goe, secretary.

Moving pictures of various buildings and places associated with the life of Abraham Lincoln were presented by Miss Mabel Richmond at the March meeting of the Macon County Historical Society. Various memorials erected to Lincoln were included in the showing.

The proposed formation of a Marshall County Historical Association has been vigorously advocated by the *Toluca Star Herald*. The following excerpts are taken from its issue of January 5:

The idea was advanced by some unknown sponsors as far back as in the 80's, but nothing, apparently, came of it. No county in Illinois is richer in historical lore than is Marshall, yet for the lack of initiative, and some good thumping hard work, the data of the past is disappearing with the passing of each "old settler." . . .

Surely there are enough Marshall County people sufficiently interested in preserving things historical to make such an association possible. We would suggest a chairman for each township, each assisted by half a dozen sub-chairmen. These could meet once a month to present material obtained and discuss projects for research. We would further suggest for chairmen not the older residents, although their memories and archives are filled with historical lore, but aggressive younger persons to contact all sources of information and collect the data for the association's files. ...

It would be hard work and none but the stout-hearted and intensely interested would be happy in it. There would be no money in the proposition, either. . . . The only profit accruing would be a satisfaction in adding the annals of Marshall County to those of other counties which already have collected much historical matter.

Dr. Walter B. Hendrickson discussed the life of Judge William Thomas at the January meeting of the Morgan County Historical Society in Jacksonville. The second part of the program was a talk by Miss Janette Powell on three women who were prominent in the early history of MacMurray College. A figurine of each of these women was displayed by Miss Powell.

Jay Monaghan, Springfield, discussed "The Dog Fennel War in Morgan County: The Cass County Invasion of Jacksonville in 1863" at the April meeting of the Society.

The Morgan County organization is again conducting its annual essay contest. Anyone except officers of the Morgan County Historical Society is eligible to compete for the following awards: first prize, $15.00; second prize, $10.00; five prizes of $5.00 each. Essays must be at least 3,000 words in length, typed double-spaced, and submitted to Miss Fidelia Abbott, 216 West College Avenue, Jacksonville, by October 1, 1945. Any subject pertinent to the history of Old Morgan (Cass, Morgan, and Scott) County may be selected by contestants, but all subjects must be registered in advance with Miss Abbott.

"Old Oak Park Residences and Buildings Today" was the subject of the program presented at the February meeting of the Oak Park Historical Society. Slides illustrative of these structures, together with comments on the history of each, were a feature of the program. An informal social hour closed the evening's entertainment.

Experiences in flying over Peoria in a balloon a generation ago were described by Eugene Brown at the January meeting of the Peoria Historical Society. Mr. Brown made twelve successful trips in his own balloon early in this century. The second part of the program was an account of "Peoria in the Eighties" as described in a volume of the same title by Arthur G. Smith. Excerpts from that book were read by Harry L. Spooner.

The reckless age of bicycling provided the subject for another interesting evening's entertainment for the Society on February 19. William C. Voss, pioneer Peoria bicycle manufacturer, discussed early bicycles and the bicycle clubs and races of the eighties and nineties. Del Sweney, of the Peoria Public Library, displayed pictures of the 1890 cyclists. Concluding the program, Harry L. Spooner read another chapter from Arthur G. Smith's book, *Peoria in the Eighties*.

The history of the Illinois waterway from 1808 to the present time was sketched by G. R. Barnett at the March meeting of the Peoria organization. The second part of the program was a talk on "The Development and Manufacture of Harvesting Machinery in Peoria" by J. R. Harrison, pioneer manufacturer.

When members of the Society assembled in April, James E. Hannon reviewed the history and growth of the Peoria transit system from horsecars to busses, and Ernest E. East read a paper on "Lincoln and Ingersoll."

In addition to holding its regular monthly meetings, the Peoria Historical Society has also been participating in the observance of Peoria's centennial this year. On May 1 the one hundredth anniversary of the founding of the city government was observed with public ceremonies in the Armory. Mayor Carl O. Triebel and other newly-elected municipal officers were installed. Gov. Dwight H. Green congratulated Peoria on its accomplishments and outlined the state's program for postwar improvements. Ernest E. East, president of the Illinois State Historical Society and a citizen of Peoria, spoke briefly on "Peoria Grows Up." Music was furnished by the Peoria Municipal Band.

The St. Clair County Historical Society held its annual meeting in January and elected the following officers: Maurice V. Joyce, president; L. G. Osborne, vice-president; L. N. Nick Perrin, Jr., secretary-treasurer.

The first annual meeting of the Stephenson County Historical Society was held in Freeport on March 22, with Paul M. Angle, state his-

rian, as the guest speaker. His subject was "History—and Freeport."

Louis E. Mensenkamp, president of the Society, welcomed the mem-rs and gave a brief résumé of the history of the organization. During the siness session, four directors were elected for three-year terms: Miss arriet Lane, Leslie W. Baldwin, Carl F. Ogden, and J. Howard Swanzey. addition, M. H. Bolender was named as director for one year to succeed . M. Coe, resigned. The Society has recently conducted a campaign for w members. Mrs. William W. Zeiders, chairman of the membership mmittee, has been assisted in this work by Mrs. Walter B. Divan and iss Winifred A. Wareham.

Members of the Winnetka Historical Society held a dinner meeting January 24. Mrs. Lloyd Faxon presented a book review of Milo M. uaife's *Lake Michigan*.

While this issue of the *Journal* was in press, announcement was made at Paul M. Angle, Secretary of the Illinois State Historical Society, had signed, effective July 1, to assume the directorship of the Chicago His-rical Society.

As Librarian, and later as State Historian, Mr. Angle has been in arge of the Illinois State Historical Library since March 1, 1932; for the me period he has served as the Society's Secretary and as the Editor of publications. This issue of the *Journal* is the last to appear under his pervision.

CONTRIBUTORS

Paul Wallace Gates, professor of history at Cornell University, is e author of numerous studies in agricultural history. His book on *The linois Central Railroad and its Colonization Work*, which was awarded the avid A. Wells prize at Harvard for the year 1931-1932, was published in 34. In recent years he has spent considerable time, both in Washington d in the Middle Western states, making an intensive study of public id disposal. . . . Mildred Crew, a graduate of Northwestern Univer-y, is a member of the library staff of that institution. . . . Charles G. vis, a resident of Cambridge, Illinois, until his death on April 20, 1944, s county judge of Henry County and much interested in the history of inois. The article printed here was not in final shape at the time of his ath. Minor revisions, chiefly literary, have been made by the Editor, th the permission of Joseph L. Shaw of Geneseo, Mr. Davis's lifetime end and one of the executors of his will.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

The Western Trip of Philip Hone
Edited by Paul M. Angle 277

The Southern Collegiate Institute (1891-1916)
E. L. Dukes 295

The Wesley Foundation in Urbana: The Origin of an Idea
W. G. Piersel 319

The Illinois Bookshelf
Tillson, *A Woman's Story of Pioneer Illinois*, by Mildred Eversole 345

Historical Note
Guy Study, "Oliver Parks Restores the Jarrot Mansion at Cahokia" 351

The Illinois Scrapbook 354

News and Comment 363

Contributors 375

ILLUSTRATIONS

Southern Collegiate Institute, Albion, Illinois, As It Appeared in 1912 After An Addition Was Completed... 312

Trinity Church, Urbana, Illinois, 1907.....326

Wesley Foundation, Urbana, Illinois, At the Time of Dedication in 1921.....342

The Home of Nicholas Jarrot at Cahokia, Illinois, Constructed About 1800.....350

The Jarrot Home As It Appeared After Restoration of the Exterior Was Completed in 1944.....352

Paul M. Angle.....364

THE WESTERN TRIP OF PHILIP HONE

EDITED BY PAUL M. ANGLE

A CENTURY ago Philip Hone was one of the leading citizens of New York City. Wealthy (although his fortune had been impaired by the Panic of 1837), he had long since retired from active business to devote himself to civic and philanthropic enterprises and to cultural pursuits. He was a trustee of Columbia College and the Mercantile Library, a vestryman of Trinity Church, vice-president of the New York Historical Society, a founder and governor of the Union Club, and an officer of numerous similar organizations. He was also an art collector, assiduous theatre-goer, and indefatigable reader. A bon vivant famed for his dinners, he was the intimate of Daniel Webster, John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay, Washington Irving, and Martin Van Buren, although the latter's political affiliations filled him with disgust. Visiting celebrities—Charles Dickens, Captain Marryat, Fanny Kemble, to name only a few—enjoyed his hospitality, and sometimes repaid it poorly.

Today, however, Philip Hone is known only because he kept a voluminous diary for twenty-three years. From 1828 to 1851 he made almost daily entries, and over that period filled twenty-eight quarto volumes with two million words. Written in secret and without thought of future publication, the diary reveals an honorable and conservative citizen of delightful personality. It is also an unrivalled record of life in a great and growing city.

Four years before his death, Philip Hone made the western trip which is described in the following pages. His desti-

nation was the Harbor and River Convention which the advocates of federal aid for internal improvements held in Chicago on July 5-7, 1847; he also wanted to inspect lands which he owned in Wisconsin.

With his daughter Margaret, Hone left New York on June 9. William H. Seward was a traveling companion as far as Philadelphia. There the Hones took the railroad to Harrisburg, its western terminus. Five days' travel on the Pennsylvania Canal brought them to Pittsburgh; river packets took them down the Ohio to its juncture with the Mississippi, where Hone's diary takes up the story.

The original diary is in the New York Historical Society. Two editors—Bayard Tuckerman and Allan Nevins[1]—have published long selections, but neither included more than a small part of Hone's account of his western trip. By permission of the New York Historical Society, the full account is presented here for the first time.

Tuesday, June 29.—On the Mississippi. I was called out of my berth, by my request to the clerk, at two o'clock this morning, to witness the union of the "Queen of the West" with "the Father of Rivers." This interesting ceremony takes place at a settlement called Cairo, on the extreme southerly point of the state of Illinois. The moon being obscured, and my sight from being suddenly called up, not very clear, I could only judge of the situation of the place, but saw enough of it to satisfy me that it was not *Grand Cairo*. We have now followed the course of the Ohio from its commencement at Pittsburgh, where the confluence of the Allegheny and Monongahela forms its origin, 1000 miles to the spot where it becomes lost in the Mississippi. The river is rising, there is plenty of turbid yellow water, and no more danger of getting aground.

[1] Bayard Tuckerman, ed., *The Diary of Philip Hone, 1828-1851*, 2 vols. (New York, 1889); and Allan Nevins, ed., *The Diary of Philip Hone, 1828-1851*, 2 vols. (New York, 1927).

I have not kept sufficient note of the tributaries of the river we have left: they are interesting from their celebrity in the history of the country, and from some pretty towns at their junction. Among them the Cumberland enters at Smithland pleasantly situated on a high bank with several good brick houses, and two large hotels, 60 miles from the Mississippi and the Tenessee [*sic*], 15 miles lower down.

I am not sure, that the speculation of some Englishmen in this place called Cairo, may not turn out better than has been predicted. The great difficulty arises from its being sometimes submerged in the great freshets. If this could be remedied by an artificial mound and levee, as may be seen in some other places, it would be an important point of transit from the upper to the lower Mississippi and from the waters of the Ohio.[2]

Wednesday, June 30.—Still on the Mississippi. Make the best of it we shall lose a day by the detention on the Ohio. The current is very strong, and our progress consequently slow, so that we shall not arrive until this evening. At this moment the *Harry of the West* from New Orleans passes us, the first boat since we left Louisville.

It seems to me that if a person was to fall overboard, he would not sink in this river. He might break his neck by coming in contact with so hard a substance, or stick fast in the mud, and yet most of the people prefer the water to drink to that of wells or springs. As for "Chrystal [*sic*] streams" and "limpid waters" they imagine them to flow only in "the paradise of fools." Indeed, I should overcome my antipathy to it if I were to close my eyes when I drink, for the taste is good, and it becomes less turbid after standing a while.

Jefferson Barracks, a pleasant spot on the Missouri shore,

[2] As late as 1850 Cairo had a population of only 250. In time it was to become a thriving city, as Hone foresaw, but it was the construction of the Illinois Central Railroad, rather than river traffic, that was to contribute most to its growth. Actually, Cairo had been protected by levees since 1843, but it was many years before the levee system was perfected sufficiently to provide a real bulwark against the rivers.

12 miles below St. Louis, is a military station of the United States with a garrison and fortifications.[3]

Vide-Poche, or Carondelet, an old French settlement of importance in the early history of the West, is a pretty miserable-looking place, finely situated on the same shore four or five miles above the Barracks.

St. Louis. We came to this great city (for such it truly is) at six o'clock in the evening of this lovely thirtieth of June, three weeks since our departure from New York, and put up at the Planters House, one of those great hotels which astonish us in the great West.

After tea, according to my practice, I started to perambulate the busy haunts of this Western Babylon. I walked the whole extent of the front on the river called (as is usual in the western cities) the Levee, and my astonishment at the scene there represented is greater than I can describe. Fifty large steamboats at least, lie head on, taking in and discharging their cargoes, some constantly arriving, from New Orleans and other ports on the Misssisippi, Cincinnati, Louisville &c on the Ohio, from the great Missouri, & its tributaries, the Illinois River, where we are bound and the whole western and southern waters, which make this place its mart, whilst others are departing, full of passengers and deeply laden with the multifarious products of this remarkable region.

The whole of the levee is covered as far as the eye can reach with merchandise landed or to be shipped. Thousands of barrels of flour and bags of corn, hogsheads of tobcco [*sic*], and immense piles of lead, (one of the great staples) which foreign merchandise, and the products of the lower country, are carried away to be lodged in the stores which form the front of the city.[4]

[3] Jefferson Barracks, ten miles south of St. Louis on the west bank of the Mississipp River, was established in 1826, and has been a military post ever since then.

[4] At the time of Hone's visit, St. Louis was the metropolis of the West. In 1850 it had population of 75,000 as compared with 30,000 for Chicago.

My walk led me through the Corlears Hook and Ship Yards of St. Louis, among boatmen, draymen, and laborers, white and black, French, Irish and German drinking, singing and lounging on benches. This was an excursion which few travellers would undertake, especially after dark, but I like it, and as the man said, who went to be married, when asked by the priest, "Wilt thou take this woman to be thy wedded wife?" I answer "Sartainly, I came for that."

Thursday, July 1.—On board the *Domain*. We left St. Louis, with infinite regret at five o'clock this afternoon on board the steamer *Domain* for Peoria and Peru, on our way to Chicago.

I have more to say about St. Louis, than I can find time for. We have met with here (as we have in our whole progress) with the most distinguished attentions. Many gentlemen have called upon me, with offers of services which our short sojourn prevents us from accepting.

Col. Benton, the Missouri senator, the great gun of the great West, called with his niece Miss Brant (the daughter of Col. Brant, who has one of the finest establishments in the city) and took us in his carriage to see every thing worthy of note in the city and its environs—the churches, (which are very numerous), the convents, and college, the arsenal and market places, and a number of beautiful country seats and brought us on our return to Colonel Brant's House. I am the more gratified with this most acceptable kindness of Col. Benton, inasmuch as there was no former intamacy [*sic*] between us which could authorize me to claim it.[5]

St. Louis resembles Philadelphia, the rise from the shore precipitous, the great business street is Main Street, which resembles the trading part of that city, from which commences the more refined and fashionable district, denominated as there, first, second, &c. Of these Fourth Street is the

[5] Thomas Hart Benton, who had represented Missouri in the U.S. Senate since 1820, was one of the best known public men of Hone's day, and Missouri's most famous citizen.

Chestnut Street, or Broadway, with elegant houses ar pleasant promenades. Here our hotel is situated.

St. Louis is in a state of excitement in consequence of th arrival of one or two brigades of Volunteers, who hav served under Col. Doniphan in his arduous and perilous ex pedition of six thousand miles, through a hostile countr and fighting three pitched battles.[6] I was introduced by Co Benton to this noble looking officer, and his brave compa ions, who are all the rage among the men, and the cynosu of the women. There is to be a grand display tomorrow, f which the municipal authorities are making great prepar tions. The Volunteers will be marched out to a grove, whe they are to be addressed by Col. Benton, and feasted &c. " in such cases made and provided." I regret that our sudd departure prevents us from partaking of this festivity.

We have on board the *Domain*, several disinguished [s persons with their families viz. Judge Pope, Col. Bates, Jud Bragg, Mr. Merriman &c. some of whom like myself a bound for Chicago, where I still hope we shall arrive in tim for the Convention.[7]

Some idea of the trade of St. Louis may be formed fro the following extract from a table prepared by the Committ for the Chicago Convention of the increase in the import tion of two important articles from the neighboring cou tries in the last three years.

	1844	1845	1846
Corn, bushels	56,720	107,927	688,644
Wheat, bushels	720,663	971,025	1,838,926
Flour, barrels	88,881	139,282	220,457

[6] Col. Alexander W. Doniphan, commanding the First Regiment of Missouri Volunte left St. Louis in May, 1846, and marched his men by way of Fort Leavenworth to Santa There he was given command of an expedition which demoralized Mexican frontier defe throughout the winter of 1846-1847 and the following spring. In May, 1847, his men jo Wool's army at Saltillo. "This expedition . . . is still considered one of the most brilliant l marches ever made; the force, with no quartermaster, paymaster, commissary, uniforms, te or even military discipline, covered 3,600 miles by land and 2,000 by water, all in the co of twelve months." Stella M. Drumm in *Dict. Am. Biog.*

[7] Nathaniel Pope, a federal judge for the District of Illinois, was attending the con tion as a delegate from Madison County. Edward Bates, of St. Louis, was one of the deleg from that city. Judge Bragg and Mr. Merriman have not been identified.

During the last year, the arrivals were 2412 steamboats d 800 raft boats.

Friday, July 2.—The Mississippi River flows through a annel 3000 miles long, and is navigable from the Gulf of exico to the falls of St. Anthony, 2200 miles. The length the Missouri from its source to the mouth is 2096 miles, is navigable from the Mississippi to the rapids, nearly 2000 les.[8]

A steam-boat leaving Pittsburgh, and going to New leans, and being then chartered to go up the Missouri as gh as the rapids, and thence returning to Pittsburgh, will rform a regular voyage of 8450 miles,[9] a distance nearly ual to crossing the Atlantic three times.

Saturday, July 3.—The Illinois is a beautiful stream in present state, the water being high, clear, and free from structions, the banks are covered alternately with noble ests and rich bottom lands, pleasant islands are frequently view, and there are many landings which would be agre- le [*sic*] enough were it not for the time consumed in dis- arging freight on their shores.

Peoria, 180 miles from the mouth of the river, is well uated on the shore bordering a wide expansion of the er, on a regularly descending slope. A delay of nearly two urs at breakfast time afforded me an opportunity to walk ough the town. There is a court house on the public uare, a good-looking church, and a larger hotel than the e and population of the place would seem to require at esent.[10]

We came to the termination of our voyage at Peru, 75 les above Peoria, shortly before sunset, and started im-

[8] *James' River Guide* (Cincinnati, 1856) gives these distances as follows: length of the ssippi River, 3,160 miles; from the Falls of St. Anthony to the "Mouths of the Missis- i," 1,971; length of the Missouri, 3,099 miles; from the rapids of the Missouri to its th, 2,575 miles.

[9] According to *James' River Guide*, this trip would total 9,540 miles.

[10] Peoria, in 1847, was a city of 3,000, but it was growing rapidly.

mediately in a post-coach for Chicago.[11] Judge Pope, his tw daughters and son-in-law Mr. Yeatman and Captn. Baldwi of the *Domain*, formed the exclusive passengers. This arrang ment tended to relieve the discomforts of a tedious journey The distance is only 100 miles, and the roads are generall good, but by bad driving and vexatious delays we were 2 hours on the road, although we rode all night.

Ottawa is fifteen miles from Peru, which we travelle at the rate of three miles an hour, and waited an hour for very shabby supper. It appears to be a considerable plac The boys are celebrating Independance [*sic*] in advanc startling the night's repose, by the discharge of a cannon an fire crackers.

A great part of the road lies upon the edge of the prairie a novel sight to us folks of the east; an undulating plain with out a tree or bush, extending sometimes beyond the reach sight, and the soil of which is a rich black mould. The vie is somewhat monotonous, and the roads through the pra ries very bad.

The Illinois and Michigan canal lies near our route. Th work when completed will form a water communication b the lakes to the Illinois River and thence by the Mississip to New Orleans.

What a grand idea it is! This is the great summit-lev of North America. The Illinois descends to the Mississipp & thence to the gulf of Mexico, and Lake Michigan finds i way by the northern lakes to the St. Lawrence and the Ba of Fundy.

We rode all night, and arrived at eight o'clock P.M.

Chicago, Sunday, July 4.—Margaret and I were in great difficulty. Every hotel is full, and for some time seemed as if I should have to apply to his honor the May for permission to sleep in the market, but the friendly exe

[11] Peru was the head of navigation on the Illinois River. Had Hone made his trip a y later, he could have traveled from Peru to Chicago by canal boat had he chosen. The Illin and Michigan Canal, connecting Lake Michigan and the Illinois River, was opened in t spring of 1848.

tions of Mr. Buchanan of Cincinnati procured us at last, by turning out the occupants, two pretty fair rooms at the Sherman House.

Chicago is truly the wonder of the western world. It was ceded to the Americans by the Winnebagoes after Genl. Scott's treaty in February, 1831, and now it is a large town, beautifully situated at the head of Lake Michigan, a transcendantly beautiful Mediterranean sea, with streets laid out at right angles. Streets of stores and fleets of vessels: cottages for people of taste, brick houses for people of wealth, hotels for traveling people and churches for good people. And here are some lake statistics:

"On the 8th of February, 1831, the Mennomonies [*sic*] ceded a tract lying between Winnebago Lake, Fox River and Green Bay on the north, and Milwaukie [*sic*] River south, and Lake Michigan east, and in October, 1832, the Potowotamies [*sic*] ceded their land lying between Chicago River and Kanakee [*sic*], and the Fox of Illinois."[12]

Bradford's *Notes on the Northwest*, page 105. The first cession above mentioned includes Sheboygan and Fond-du-Lac.

Wisconsin in 1840 contained 30,000 inhabitants. By the census taken in 1845 the population amounted to 155,000, three counties not returned.

Chicago, Monday, July 5.—I have been engaged all day in the convention. Never was seen such a show in the great West. Chicago is swelled out far beyond its capacity of containment, there are this night an addition to its population of ten thousand strangers, of which more than six thousand are delegates.

A grand procession was formed at ten o'clock to escort us to the place of meeting, under a huge marquee in the court house yard. This procession consisted of the fire companies

[12] This is not an accurate statement. The principal cessions of land on which Chicago now stands were made by the treaties of August 24, 1816, with the Potawatomi, Ottawa, and Chippewa; July 29, 1829, with the same tribes; and October 20, 1832, with the Potawatomi.

with their engines gorgeously decorated, cars with appropriate devices and green boughs, a full rigged ship on wheels drawn by eight horses, young ladies in white, troops &c.

The convention was organized by the appointment of Judge Bates of Missouri president and one vice president from each state. Mr. Corning of Albany represents ours.

After the appointment of committees to arrange the forms of business, prepare resolutions &c., the convention adjourned until tomorrow morning.

Tuesday, July 6.—The convention sat all day, except the time required for dinner, which is very short. Soup, fish, meat, vegetables, pies and puddings, all find their way into the human stomach in the space of a few minutes. The people of the great West know the value of time too well to consume it in the frivolous employment of eating.

A great deal of business was done to-day in convention. The committee to prepare resolutions presented a string of fifteen, ably drawn, embracing the principles of the convention, admirably calculated to accomplish their objects, and free from the expression of any sentiment calculated to give offence to fastidious party men.

Many excellent speeches were made by Gov. Corwin, Morrow, Jno. C. Spencer, Judge Thomas, Stewart of Pennsylvania, Butler King of Georgia, Gov. Bibb [*sic*], Jno. C. Wright, and others. The convention then adjourned to finish their work tomorrow.

After the convention adjourned I took a long walk in the business part of the city, on the shores of the lake where the handsome private dwellings are situated, and on the wharves where the navigation is centered—this is a city of 15 years' growth!

Wednesday, July 7.—On board the *St. Louis*. The convention finished their business in perfect harmony, carrying out their objects with undivided strength, and refusing to entertain any propositions of an extraneous nature. But the

crowning jewel of the whole affair was the president's speech made previous to the adjournment.

This address of Mr. Bates was beautiful beyond description, brilliant and tasteful as Crittenden, seductive and captivating as Clay, powerful and convincing as Webster. I never heard ideas so exalted expressed in language so appropriate. Colloquial without a mean expression, and statistical without tediousness. The audience, counting thousands, were hushed into silence, except when an exclamation was heard of excellent! beautiful! &c. And at the close a simultaneous shout swelled out from the throats of the delighted multitude enough to agitate the waters of the lake, or disturb the silence of the prairies.

I did so regret that Margaret was not present. The president's speech came so unexpectedly, and it was so difficult to leave my seat on the platform that I could not go for her.

We adjourned at noon sine die.[13] A sort of codicil convention is now in session for the purpose of blowing off the suppressed steam, giving some a chance to speak who had none before.

The labours of the convention being ended, and having seen everything notable about this overgrown infant city, we embarked with a large party of ladies & gentlemen, principally delegates and their families, at eight o'clock this evening on board the steamer *St. Louis*, one of the noble vessels of the Lake line. The party on board are on their way

[13] The Harbor and River Convention was a direct result of President Polk's veto of the River and Harbor Bill which Congress passed in 1846. Since the bill had carried an appropriation of $80,000 for harbor improvements at Chicago, Racine, Milwaukee, and other Lake Michigan ports, the West was especially vociferous in its denunciation of the President. In the summer of 1846 the idea of holding a convention of those in favor of internal improvements took shape. Because of its location, Chicago was selected, and the time was set as July 5, 1847.

Visitors began to arrive two weeks before the convention convened. By the opening day, the city was bursting at the seams. The delegates alone numbered several thousand, and included many of the best-known men of the time. Among them were others like Abraham Lincoln, whose fame the future was to reveal. The delegates elected Edward Bates of St. Louis president, listened to speeches, and passed resolutions declaring that it was the duty of the federal government to foster internal commerce by improving the country's rivers and harbors.

to Lake Superior, and will have a delightful excursion. We however must stop at Sheboygan.

Sheboygan, Thursday, July 8.—We arrived soon after day-light at Milwaukee, where we remained until ten o'clock. Here is another wonder of the western world—an Aladdin's palace on a large scale, raised in a night, but likely to be of longer duration.

The town is well situated in the state of Wisconsin, 95 miles below Chicago, with a fine harbor, streets of business, filled with wagons, some conveying the merchandise of New York into the interior of the state, and others bringing in *new country* produce and taking out *old country* immigrants. Churches, printing offices, markets and milliners; and all these in a place, where twelve years ago there were just *three* log shanties.[14]

Carriages were provided by the Milwaukeans to take the company to see the town, for which no compensation would be received, and we left Milwaukee under a salute of cannon.

At four P.M. we parted from our agreable [*sic*] travelling companions, on board the *St. Louis*, and landed at Sheboygan, fifty miles from Milwaukee. They went on to enjoy the excursion laid out to Mackinaw and the Sault St. Marie, and I came here to view my lands at this place, and Fond-du-Lac, and to transact business with my agents at these places, Messrs. Howard and Bannister.

Sheboygan, Friday, July 9.—We are at the Sheboygan House, kept rather so-so-ishly by Mr. Camp.

I passed the day in driving with Mr. Whitney and walking with Mr. Howard to see my lots, with which I am so well satisfied that I have forbidden the sale of any more at present. The scite [*sic*] of the town is better than that of Milwaukee, and the river requires only the removal of ob-

[14] In 1847 Milwaukee had a population of approximately 18,000, and was growing rapidly.

structions from its mouth to make it an excellent harbor. Every thing is new. Houses and stores are growing up in every direction, but all seems to be in embryo. Lots are now worth double the money at which I sold them a year ago. Emigrants are coming in shoals, and taking their line of march to the interior of the territory.

Fond-du-Lac, Saturday, July 10.—My business at Sheboygan being accomplished, Margaret and I started this morning at 7 o'clock, in an open wagon, with a good pair of horses, and a handy boy to drive, on this journey 44 miles. But such a journey I never suffered. The road until the last seven or eight miles, lies through a dense forest, generally beech and maple, with now and then, a clearance, with the trees still burning, a log cabin with swarms of children, pigs, a cow perhaps, and a pot broiling upon crop sticks, and every mile a family of German immigrants, with their goods and chattels stowed away in a huge ox-wagon, with legs of all sizes projecting, from those of the mothers, of the size and form of a horse block to the pipe stems of the latest pledge of connubial industry. The road (with the exception of the first six miles to the new and thriving settlement at the falls of the beautiful Sheboygan River, to the last six on the prairies of Fond-du-Lac) is abominable. Stumps and roots alternating with stones, so thickly sown, that there is no room for the wheels to pass between them, and occasionally, that art should come in to dispute with nature the credit of the construction of this *via infernale*, a bridge formed of rough logs of all sizes, and forms, is thrown over a deep swamp of black mud. And thus we came, plumping into holes and brought up by stumps, at the rate of two miles an hour in the hottest day there has been this summer—besides all this we have the delightful prospect of returning by this road on Monday.

Governor Tallmadge,[15] who has been with his daughter,

[15] Nathaniel Pitcher Tallmadge, governor of Wisconsin Territory from 1844 to 1846. A native of New York, he had previously served in the legislature of that state and as one of its United States senators (1833-1844).

fellow sufferers in another wagon, kindly insisted upon our becoming his guests, at his log cabin three miles from Fond-du-Lac, and here we hope (if the musquitoes will let us) to sleep away the fatigue and soreness of our hard day's journey.

Sunday, July 11.—This day has been passed in an unsabbathlike manner (which I am sorry to say is not an unusual circumstance). Gov. Tallmadge took us in his wagon to the village, where I saw, and conferred with my agent, Mr. Bannister, with whom I am much pleased. If he is not an honest man I am no phisiognomist [*sic*]. I saw also Mr. McWilliams, an intelligent, correct man who has had something to do with my concerns. Mr. Bannister acompanied [*sic*] us in a drive over my lands. I am a pretty considerable proprietor, and have no disposition to divest myself of my interests. It may, and probably will come to good for my children. Never was seen finer land, dry prairies equally valuable for pasture or cultivation. I have some valuable land in the present village, but none so handsome to look at.

Gov. Tallmadge has a splendid farm, but his house is a rough concern, and he has neglected many things to make his family comfortable. They are very numerous, mostly girls, but I should think more used to making temporary *shifts* than linen ones.

After dinner I was jolted over the farm, albeit sore with yesterday's exercise of that nature, and had to listen to plans of improvement, which I did not understand, and assent to capabilities which I was not *capable* to appreciate.

Sheboygan, Monday, July 12.—We left Gov. Tallmadge's before six o'clock this morning, and returned to this place making another long day's drive over the delectable road, hotter even, and more dusty than Saturday—but whether we had gotten used to it, and were prepared for the worst I know not, but our sufferings seemed to be more tolerable. The water on the route is excellent, every settler has a well or spring on his clearance, in the refreshment of which

we participated largely with the horses.

The steamboat, the *Niagara* is expected in the course of the night, so I throw myself on my bed with my clothes on, having all things prepared for a sudden start.

Tuesday, July 13.—The *Niagara* either passed without stopping at Sheboygan, or has been detained. It is reported that she remains at Milwaukee, in consequence of having ship fever on board. If this be so we may be reconciled to our disappointment. Our getting away is now altogether uncertain. After waiting anxiously all last night and this morning, we are here yet, and the dinner bell is ringing.

"Hope deferred maketh the heart sick," they say. Something has certainly made my body sick. I have been unwell several days, my appetite has left me almost entirely. I have not eaten an ounce of meat during the last week, and am very weak. The fatigue of my journey may have hastened my indisposition, and two or three pickled oysters and a few strawberries which Mr. Whitney kindly procured for me, have done me no good. I took medicine this morning, and am living upon toast water.

This fragmental day enables me to write up my journal.

On Lake Michigan, Wednesday, July 14.—Our constrained detention at Sheboygan terminated last night. I was awakened at midnight, from sleep, rendered restless by the expectation of such an interruption, by the announcement of "a steamer in sight," and every thing being in readiness, for departure, we were soon at the end of the long wharf, on board the *A. D. Patchin*, bound for the North, and embarked once more on the beautiful waters of the blue Michigan. This is *not* one of the crack boats, forming the Chicago and Buffalo line, but good enough for me, clean and comfortable, with good eating and sleeping accomodations [*sic*], an obliging Captain and civil people, and the most splendid and spacious promenade on the upper deck I have ever seen on board of steamer or sailer; extending the whole length of

the deck, 230 feet, and covered with a light, tasteful awning of boards.

When I arose this morning the view of the lake, with the sun emerging from the bright waters, was lovely, and the cool breeze, contrasted with the heat which we have experienced of late, most grateful and refreshing.

Manitou Islands, 120 miles from Sheboygan.—We came to this celebrated island two hours before sunset of this day of surpassing loveliness. It is the principal one of the group. The steamer is taking in wood, which gives the passengers an opportunity to ramble on the shore, and in the pine woods; there is nothing however remarkable except the formation of the land, which on the west side of the island is a promontory of land, 3 or 400 feet high, and a lovely bay, where the steamer lies, with a beach of the purest, transparent water gently rippling over the pebbly shore, on which I am seated, writing these notes. A sweeter scene of silent repose, (interrupted at present only by the steamer and her passengers) cannot be imagined.

Mackinaw, Thursday, July 15.—We parted from our obliging Captain, Whitaker, and his comfortable boat, at six o'clock this morning, and after a good breakfast at the Mission House of white fish and wild pigeons, strolled up to the fort, situated on an eminence which overlooks the old French town of Michilimackinac (they have destroyed the euphony of this name of many letters by calling it *Mackinaw* against which I protest). We were received politely by Captain Gage, the commander of the garrison, from whose quarters we had a fine view of the two Mediterranean seas, Huron and Michigan.

On descending into the town, the "*Detroit*," steamer, suddenly arrived, on her way to the Sault. St. Marie, and in fifteen minutes we were on board, steaming to our northern destination, "Clan-Alpine's utmost bound."

Sault St. Marie, Friday, July 16.—We arrived here last

night at ½ past nine o'clock. Our voyage from Mackinaw 90 miles, on board the *Detroit*, was pleasant. The whole of this great outlet of Lake Superior is studded with islands; the enumeration varies from ten to twenty-two thousands, of all shapes and sizes, from that of a venison dish, to a German principality, some covered with wild pine forests, and others formed of rude precipitous rocks, causing sudden changes and picturesque views.

The two taverns in this far famed Hamlet of the North were so crouded [*sic*] that we could not find "where to lay our heads." The best lodgings Margaret could obtain were on the floor in a room with three women, but she was considerately informed that *they were not all to sleep in one bed.* This would not do, so we had the baggage returned to the boat, where we took up our lodgings for the night.

And here a most serious and alarming difficulty occurred. My dressing case was missing, containing this journal, (how could the world ever have been compensated for its loss?) many papers of consequence, all my dressing apparatus, a pacquet of $500 entrusted to my care by a merchant of Sheboygan, and some money of my own. I spent half the night in searching for this valuable package, ransacked the taverns, disturbed the lodgers, went to and fro between the boat and the tavern, half a dozen times, ancle [*sic*] deep in dust, sought out the driver of the baggage cart, and began to dispair [*sic*], when to my great joy it was found by two boys, on the wharf, where it had been left by the careless porter.

On Lake Huron, Saturday, July 17.—It is well to have it to say that we have been to the Sault Ste Marie, but in my opinion "*le jeu ne vaut pas la chandelle.*" The rapids are fine, and acquire importance from being the outlet of the great Lake of the North, but they are not equal to those of our Niagara River, and there is a sort of aboriginal character about the town, which would be interesting were it not ob-

scured by modern improvements. Some remains of Indians are to be seen, their wigwams, and sundry Indian (or Ingun as one sign spells it) curiosities, the sale of which is the principal support of the shopkeepers.

After breakfast yesterday, Margaret and I, accompanied by Mr. Green, a gentleman of Detroit, and Mr. Lay, former member of Congress from Batavia, N.Y., crossed in a small boat to the British side, to fish for trout in the rapids. I trudged over sharp stones, broke through tangled bushes, and waded in the water, and not a fish was taken by the party. On our return, when half accross [*sic*], the boy who rowed the boat was unable to stem the wind & current and we were forced to return to the station house of the Hudson's Bay company, where Mr. Ballantine, the agent in the kindest manner furnished us with a capital boat, and with four stout voyageurs, and himself to steer, brought us accross [*sic*] the river, at the foot of the rapids, and landed us in safety.

Our misfortunes were not yet ended. We were dining at the St. Marie's Hotel, when news was brought that the steam-boat with all our baggage on board, had started fifteen minutes before her time. We rushed down to the wharf, made signals to her, when to our great joy she laid by. We put off in a small boat, had like to have been run down, were hauled on board, at the risk of our lives. And thus ends the adventures of Sault Ste Marie. We are now on Lake Huron, steaming down to Detroit, almost home, only about 1200 miles to go.

The illness of which Hone complained persisted. The hardships of western travel appear to have been too much for a man in his sixty-seventh year. He never regained his health, although there were times when he was able to resume some of the activities to which he had formerly devoted himself. His interest in his diary never flagged, and he continued his entries until five days before his death on May 5, 1851.

THE SOUTHERN COLLEGIATE INSTITUTE (1891-1916)

BY E. L. DUKES

ONLY memories now remain of a rather imposing three-storied brick building which stood alone in the center of an entire city block of Albion until recently. If you had been curious enough to inquire, any native would have told you that this building, surrounded by its stately oaks, was once the home of the Southern Collegiate Institute—popularly known as the S.C.I.

Forty years ago, these initials were well known throughout southern Illinois as standing for a progressive and efficient school, having splendid ideals of Christian higher education, with strong emphasis on both "higher" and "Christian." This was at a time when our local high school boasted only a three-year course, and only the well-to-do could afford to send their brightest offspring to colleges—which had none too good a reputation for orthodoxy anyway.

The old home of the S.C.I. has now disappeared and in its place the foundations of a large factory have already been laid. Perhaps we should say that the old school has had a sort of new birth, for the Albion Coil Company has salvaged much of the material from the old structure in building a factory for the production of radio coils for our armed forces.

Before the Southern Collegiate Institute opened its doors in 1891, it was preceded by two earlier educational institutions, the Albion Normal School and the Edwards County Normal College. An eight-page prospectus of the Albion Normal School announced that the institution would open

its doors on April 24, 1883. J. Peasley and J. T. Norton were listed as associate principals, and the term was to continue for ten weeks. Peasley was scheduled to teach history, physiology, zoology, botany, Latin, Greek, French, Hebrew, vocal music, moral and mental philosophy, logic, and geometry; Norton was to have charge of English grammar, rhetoric, elocution and vocal gymnastics, penmanship, bookkeeping, geography, natural philosophy, civil government and training in methods; Miss Ethel Spriggs was to be superintendent of the primary department; and Mrs. James Smith was scheduled to teach instrumental music.

For all this banquet of knowledge the tuition was listed as $6.00 for ten weeks for the choice bits, or $3.50 at the primary table. The dessert of instrumental music added another $7.00 for twenty lessons, if wanted. Board in private families was offered for $2.50 a week. Editorially, the prospectus commented:

> Since teaching is beginning to take rank among the leading professions of active life, its development demands the most thoroughly trained minds in the country. . . . The opinion prevails generally that a Normal School is one solely for the purpose of training teachers. . . . The training of teachers holds only a secondary place, . . . while the training of the mind holds the highest place. . . . Subjects rather than text-books, and principles rather than rules are studied, . . . minds are trained to healthy growth.

The sessions were to be held in the public school building, a two-storied structure of brick. Prospective students were promised:

> In this can be found all necessary apparatus for experiments in philosophy. Students will have access to the public school library for general reference. There is also a choice town library at the court-house, where some of the best books on science, art and literature can be obtained.

A recommendation of the faculty was signed by the following prominent citizens of Albion: Charles Churchill, president of the school board; Levinus Harris, county super-

tendent of schools; Charles Emmerson, county clerk; eorge Bower, county treasurer; John Eastham, master in ıancery; John C. McClurkin, M.D.; M. T. Hough and ıleb Edwards, ministers.

Albion, it was stated, had been chosen as the location r the school because it was a county seat, located near the nter of the county, in one of the richest agricultural dis- icts of the state, on the Louisville, Evansville and St. Louis ıilroad, and was noted for health, morality, and temper- ıce. There was no saloon in the county; instead, it boasted :he oldest temperance society west of the Allegheny Moun- ins, and which has held weekly meetings for forty years."

We do not know how long the Albion Normal School ntinued to function. It must have served a useful purpose, ıd it undoubtedly led to a further advance in Albion's edu- tion program six year later.

In June, 1889, a charter was obtained for the Edwards ɔunty Normal College. The directors chosen were: Charles . Pace, banker; H. J. Strawn, lawyer; J. W. Barber, business an; Joseph Harris, carpenter and lumberman; Washington ıinter, inventor of the Eureka Stump Plow, and dealer in ıd manufacturer of plows, wagons, and hardware; Frank ɔles, furniture merchant; Dr. J. S. Williams; Charles mmerson, county clerk for thirteen years; and Charles hurchill, who, in addition to being one of the most prom- ent business men of Albion, was also captain of a company cruited in Edwards County for the Civil War. We have entioned Churchill as recommending the teachers of the rmer Normal School. He was also active later in the trans- r of this Edwards County Normal to the Congregational ıurch.

By vote of the stockholders, all of Block Z in Albion, ɔout five acres, was bought from James and Samuel Chur- ıill, on the last day in 1889, for $650. This was a very beauti- l and appropriate site, located along the road leading from

Albion to Grayville, and overlooking the courthouse a
the "Air Line," or Southern Railroad, depot three bloc
away.

The directors then secured temporary quarters for t
school in the large, two-storied brick residence which h
been erected in 1843 by Dr. Frank Thompson. This buildin
which now houses the Albion Library, stands at the sout
east corner of the public square.

"Prof. J. Ortho Lansing, A.B., A.M.," as he sign
himself, was chosen to occupy the president's chair, as w
as to teach Greek, Latin, pedagogy, and psychology. M
Alice Fitch, A.B., wife of Ed. Fitch, county superintende
was to teach mathematics; Miss Addie L. Bishop, Fren
and German; F. M. Ingler, history, geography, and ci
government; and E. M. Pace, vocal and instrumental mus

The new school was to be fitted with new apparat
cabinets of minerals and "rocks," a complete chemical lab
atory, a new piano, and a new typewriter costing $100.
proud were the members of the town board of this ne
school, that in October they voted to have an advertiseme
of it printed, at their expense, on the backs of all busin
envelopes.

Professor Lansing married Miss Maggie Hyslop,
Princeton, Indiana, in August, and brought her to Albi
where they started housekeeping.

The directors soon turned their attention to the erecti
of a suitable building on the lot which they had purchase
When this was partly finished, they borrowed $6,000 fr
the Edwards County Loan and Building Association, givi
a mortgage on the property. Monthly payments were to
made regularly on the principal. This loan was made on Ju
30, 1890.

The dedication of the building, held on December
1890, was a great day. The crowd was addressed by J.
Barber, president of the board of trustees, Prof. Peter Selle

ıpt. Charles Churchill, and H. J. Strawn, a prominent local wyer. The school started off with a flourish.

This school and the one which followed were so inately connected that conditions which applied to one also plied, for the most part, to the other. However, the S.C.I. ıdoubtedly profited by some of the mistakes made by the lwards County Normal.

The reminiscences of some of the early students at Edards County Normal give us a good picture of college life Albion in those days. Mr. Guy U. Hardy, owner of the *non City* [Colo.] *Daily Record*, was one of the members of e first graduating class. Although he was born in Abingn, Illinois, on April 4, 1872, he grew up in Albion, and aduated from the Normal School in 1890. On going to non City, Colorado, in 1894, for his health, he began rking for the *Record*, a weekly paper, and in less than a ar he had bought it. Eleven years later he began publishing e *Daily Record*. In 1911 he was president of the Colorado ess Association, and in 1918 of the National Press Assoıtion. In addition, he was a representative in Congress m 1919 to 1933. From a recent letter to the Edwards Coun Historical Society, I quote the following as representing e influence of the Edwards County Normal College on the e of a small-town lad. Mr. Hardy says:

> In the summer of 1889 I was going for the daily mail. Met H. J. awn in front of Captain Churchill's residence and he engaged me in ıversation. He said, "Guy, what are your plans for the future—are you ng to be a grocer's clerk all your life?" I flippantly replied that I did know, that "circumstances altered cases." He arose to that and gave a lecture upon the assertion that "Every young man is the creator of own circumstance," and advised me to quit the grocery job and go into s new college that was being organized to start up in the fall. Suggested t I prepare to teach school—not for permanent life work, but for a ppingstone for other things. He had begun life that way—studying / while teaching school. H. J. Strawn was always helpful to young n.
>
> I was persuaded. Was then seventeen, hardly through the grade ool—was eighteen hortly before graduation. The course we took was

an abbreviated high school course with a little teaching stuff added acquired a little knowledge and some wisdom and surely did get inspi- tion for better things. The moral atmosphere was good. Ed. Fitch, th county superintendent of schools, gave the graduates teacher's certifica but made me promise to take a spelling book and study up.

I applied for half the schools around Edwards County, but they wanted a man, so one district hinted, not a boy. However, I was giv the contract for the Mills Prairie (sometimes called the Pinhook) sch at $30 a month, and that year began saving money.

Mr. Hardy thus characterizes his instructors:

J. Ortho Lansing—promoter type, intelligent and shrewd. Good lectures in chapel and classes. There was a mystery about him after left Albion. Shortly after that he was lost, apparently, as no one e heard from or of him. In Albion he had the peculiar habit of having F. Ingler sign his name to all papers. I have a very flattering recommen tion, far better than deserved, written in the hand of Ingler, with L sing's name signed by Ingler. And on the diplomas, Lansing's name w written by Ingler.

F. M. Ingler was a tall, angular young man with the biggest f of any man I have ever known. Country boy just out of college, kind innocent, helpful. His handwriting was as perfect as printed copybo script. [Perhaps that explains Lansing's habit of having Ingler do writing for him.] He later became a lawyer in Indianapolis, Ind.

Among Mr. Hardy's treasured possessions is a pho graph of six women in white dresses, and two men in th "Sunday best," dark suits, stiff, white shirt-fronts, a stand-up collars with white bow ties. Will C. Smith ("St. Louis Bill"), destined to become a "prominent educator a organizer," wears a young mustache, and Guy U. Har looks very prim, holding in one hand a book (regular stud "prop" at that time)—prophetic of his future, perha There are three Walser girls: Emma, Eva, and Gertru the latter of whom married John C. Stone, noted ma ematician and author of numerous textbooks, who taug at the Normal School early in his distinguished career as educator. On one side of "St. Louis Bill" stands Mine Young, and on the other Minnie Hutchins, with her fo ing, white fan spread wide. Appropriately enough, t flower of the group, Olive F. Rose, is in the foreground, h

reclining on the floor in front of Hardy. Her elbow rests on a small, well-draped stool. Her upraised hand supports her head. In her lap is a folded fan. Seemingly she was so placed to hide Hardy's feet, which may have been but one size smaller than he says Ingler's were.

This was the class of July 31, 1890, the first one to be graduated from Edwards County Normal College. Their motto was: "Wisdom is ofttimes nearer when we stoop than when we soar."

For highlights on the next year, we refer to Mr. William A. Briggs ("Shorty"), one of the three who were graduated in 1891. He later spent twenty-seven years as a teacher, followed by twenty-two years in the Gary, Indiana, steel mills, then retired to a farm four years ago. He says:

> At the close of the first year of the "Albion Normal University" Edwards County Normal College] all members of the faculty disappeared except one. This made a change which almost amounted to making the school over again. But the trustees were not so inexperienced as they were the former year, and a number of changes for the better were made. The personnel of the faculty was reduced in number, and (I believe almost all will agree) was raised in ability. Far less extravagant claims were made in the publicity line, and expenses were held to a minimum. In other words, the University's first flight among the clouds was over and she now began to tread on solid earth again. During the first year, the school was a "Show-boat;" the second it was a gristmill.
>
> It had been expected that the south wing of the new building on block Z, which had been under construction during the past year, would be ready for use; but when the day for opening arrived the walls were not more than half completed. This made it necessary to continue the use of the old, historic Thompson house.
>
> Six courses of study were listed:—teachers' course, scientific, classic, business, vocal and instrumental music.
>
> The second president was P. Sellers, as he signed himself. He might have boasted of three degrees had he wished to do so: A.B., A.M., and L.L.B. The faculty now consisted of Prof. Peter Sellers, Prof. C. N. Henderson, Miss Anna M. Sellers (daughter of Prof. Sellers, who came from Waynesville, Ohio, in September to teach music), and Prof. F. M. Ingler, who remained from the former year. Miss Laura Barber became teacher of art.
>
> On September 2, 1890, all was ready and registration began. I entered as a green, uncouth, country lad of seventeen, straight from the

country school, not at all used to town or city life or society, and wa strictly "not at home." But a few moments spent in the presence and con versation of that kindly old man, Prof. Sellers, put me partially at ease and I managed to enroll and choose my studies (or have them chosen fo me), find my classrooms, and prepare for work. Simple as this may seem to you who read this, I still look back upon it as the greatest adventur of my life.

The first requirement of all students who could not furnish adequat proof of their standing and ability, was an examination, or a review o the "common branches" during the first term. I had no credentials what ever, and, not daring the examination, my status was soon fixed. In addi tion, I crowded in bookkeeping, of which I had had a smattering, an vocal music, of which I knew nothing. Classwork and study kept m busy from 6:00 A.M. to 10:00 P.M., with no time whatever for recrea tion, except the short intervals between classes. After two weeks, Prof Ingler was called away and Prof. F. W. Potter, who was afterward electe county superintendent of schools, took his place. Thanks to the excellen work of my last teacher in the country school, Miss Mamie Harri [daughter of the long-time County Superintendent, Levinus Harris], th work was not beyond me; and at the end of the term I passed the "finals" with fair success (average of 90). The term closed on November 6.

At the opening of the second term on November 11, the new build ing was still far from finished; but enough rooms were usable to accom modate the classes, and we moved in. One of the new rooms was used fo some time without plaster. Prof. Nevins took the place of Prof. Potte

The ease with which I carried the "review" in the first term no served me rather adversely. I loaded myself down with algebra, geometry psychology, physiography, bookkeeping, commercial law, mechanica drawing, vocal music, and penmanship. After some protests from Selle and Henderson, I was told to go merrily on with my burden. I soon foun what I had done; but firmly resolved not to be a quitter, and carried m load through the term.

The third term opened on January 20 with no change in instructor and the building nearly completed. I chose geometry, algebra, zoology physics (with laboratory), mental philosophy, vocal music, and penman ship.

At the start of the fourth term on March 31, Prof. Nevins gave plac to Prof. John C. Stone, who had just finished a winter's teaching at Yan keetown country school. He was an Edwards County product and at thi time, I think, was not a graduate of any college or university, but wa an excellent teacher, and was thoroughly qualified for the work whic fell to his lot. Most of the country schools in the county closed at abou this date, and the coming of many teachers to the University almos doubled the attendance. My work for the term was college algebra, bot any, advanced physiology (with Gray's *Anatomy*), mental philosophy

methods, principles and practice of teaching, and vocal music.

The fifth, or summer, term began on June 9 and was of but eight weeks' duration instead of ten as the others had been. I now found for the first time that it would be possible for me to finish the teachers' course and graduate, if I would choose the right subjects for the term's work. These proved to be advanced arithmetic, rhetoric, Latin, literature, and civil government. I also continued with vocal music and penmanship. The work was considered as "satisfactory" and no examination was required.

Prof. Sellers was a man for whom it would be hard to find an equal in character or teaching ability. Plain and quiet, yet earnest and aggressive. He frequently carried his texts to and from the college in a five-cent market basket, and never tipped his hat to the ladies, but liked to see young men do so. He was intensely religious.

The graduating class of 1891 was composed of only three young men: Lawson Porter, who later became a Methodist minister; Walter Harris, son of County Superintendent Levinus Harris; and William A. Briggs, writer of the account just quoted above. "Billy B."—as he was known in the country district of "Pinch"—and I attended school under the kind care of Miss Mamie Harris, daughter of Superintendent Harris, and afterward a missionary to central Mexico. I have quoted so largely from Briggs's account because it shows the possibilities that were opened for an earnest student by a small-town college. It also serves as an introduction to the history of the S.C.I. which continued and expanded the work of the Normal.

From the *Albion Journal* of August 6, 1891, I quote the following:

> This Commencement marked the close, in an absolute and final sense, of the "Albion Normal University." . . . When the school opens again in September, it will be to enjoy the patronage of the Congregational Church, which has ever sponsored religious education in schools such as Yale, Williams, Oberlin and Harvard.

In view of the high ideals and attainments of this locality, its rapid development of churches and schools and local government, its strong legislators and the Governor who had gone to the Statehouse prior to 1891, and, perhaps most

of all, the all-important part played by Morris Birkbeck—one of the founders of the English Settlement—in saving the county and the state from the blight of slavery, the following excerpt, which the *Albion Journal* clipped from the *Congregational News* and published on July 2, 1891, shows a wonderful ignorance on the part of would-be educators:

> The term "Egypt" as applied to Southern Illinois has been for years synonymous with ignorance and superstition, but now the light is dawning and it is more apparent that the coming of Congregationalism into this region is a great blessing to this section of the state . . . and so when the Southern Association, more than one year ago, resolved that its score of new churches with their more than one thousand members must have an academy for their young people, it did the most natural as well as the most necessary thing for Congregational people to do. . . .
>
> Albion, the county seat of Edwards County, made a $12,000 bid for the Congregational school, and that, too, when there was not a Congregational church in town. But the people said, "We want the school and we want a Congregational Church," and so their offer was accepted with the expectation of immediately planting a church in their town.
>
> The Gospel Tent was erected in the shady, Court House square, on the seventh of May and meetings were conducted by Evangelist Purdue assisted by Pastor Harris, of Villa Ridge. All the churches of the town except the Episcopal, co-operated heartily in the work, adjourning their prayer-meetings and Sunday evening services. The congregations were large, sometimes as many as 1,000 at a single service.

It is hard to untangle the facts concerning the transfer of the Edwards County Normal College to the Southern Collegiate Institute in 1891. Most of our data comes from the files of the *Albion Journal* and some from records in the courthouse.

It seems that the Congregational Church had for some time been considering the founding of a church college in southern Illinois, and had investigated several different sites. Some time in the latter part of April, when their committee was in session at Carbondale, a committee from the Normal, with Capt. Charles Churchill as chairman, met them there and presented such an attractive offer that it was accepted. The offer was variously reported by neighboring newspapers.

In Fairfield it was said that the building, valued at $10,000, together with $2,000 in cash, was offered. West Salem reported that the proposition included the college building and $12,000 in cash. In Metropolis the offer was declared to be $10,000 and the building, and this was corroborated by the *Albion Journal*, which said that citizens raised $10,000. The issue of April 29, 1891, declared that the Edwards County Normal College was to be transferred to the Congregational Association and was to be made one of the great educational institutions of the country. Speculating on the great future of Albion, the *Journal* forecast that the population would be doubled in four years, another railroad might come, the mineral water would be advertised and become famous, electric lights would be installed, and a Congregational Church would be organized and build a new church building. Quoting the *Journal*:

> When telegrams from Carbondale reached here that Albion had secured the location, . . . our citizens proceeded to celebrate the event in royal style. Bonfires illuminated the streets, the cannon's roar aroused the natives for miles around, and a lot of red paint was spread, barber poles being made a solid red.

At the regular meeting of Normal stockholders on Friday, June 5, 1891, the deal was ratified. Under its terms, the Normal was to turn over its property, free of debt, to the Congregational Association, and the latter, in turn, was obligated to build suitable buildings, carry on the college work, and provide adequate endowment. The debt and mortgage to the Loan and Building Association was not yet paid, so forty-eight of the most prominent business men of Albion gave a bond in the amount of $10,000 to the Association to guarantee the clearing of the debt in six years.

The certificate of incorporation of the Southern Collegiate Institute was filed in the courthouse at Albion on October 16, 1891, and a quitclaim deed was given by the Edwards County Normal on December 7, to the Congregational Association of Southern Illinois.

Trustees elected were: James Tompkins, D.D., of Chicago, president; James W. Barber, Albion, vice-president; George R. Parrish, Mattoon, secretary; E. M. Pace, Albion, treasurer; Charles Churchill, Albion, auditor; the Rev. Sheldon A. Harris, Albion, financial secretary; and the Rev. J. W. Purdue, Alto Pass; the Rev. Paul C. Burhans, Centralia; the Rev. J. Wesley Johnson, Olney; John C. Lewis, Alto Pass; Oren S. Rice, Bone Gap; and H. J. Strawn, Charles Emmerson, and George G. Spiller, of Albion.

From George R. Parrish, the secretary mentioned above, I quote:

> The forty-third session [of the Congregational Association of Southern Illinois] was held with the church at Mound City, September, 1891, and was unusual in point of attendance, there being twenty-three churches represented by seventy-four ministers and delegates. One church was added to the roll. An important feature of the session was the report of the academy committee which stated as a result of their work the establishment of the school at Albion, Edwards County, with the Rev. Fergus L. Kenyon as principal, and the acquisition of school property to the amount of $15,000.

On the fifth Sunday in May, 1891, a new Congregational Church, called Ridge Church, had been dedicated in the southern part of Edwards County. There were already a number of small country churches in the county, and a tent meeting in the public square resulted in the organization of another at Albion in June. Prof. F. L. Kenyon, of Clinton, Ohio, delivered an excellent sermon before the congregation, with the result that he was called to take charge as president of the Edwards County Normal, to begin work in January, 1892. But before that date the S.C.I. had taken over, so he was given the same position on its staff. Thus the Congregational Church, local and state-wide, and particularly that of southern Illinois, sponsored the work of the Southern Collegiate Institute, and the church and school went hand in hand under the motto of the S.C.I., "With God's help I will not fear."

On October 17, 1892, a new board of trustees was elected, this time to serve for life. James Tompkins was continued as president, and the other members were: James W. Barber, George R. Parrish, Paul C. Burhans, Halbert J. Strawn, Roland W. Purdue, George G. Spiller, Edward M. Pace, Sheldon A. Harris, Patterson W. Wallace, Charles Churchill, Jacob D. Benton, S. A. Ingersoll, and Frank B. Hines.

By the terms of the charter, it had been provided that: "Two-thirds of said board of trustees shall always be members in good standing of some evangelical Congregational Church of the state of Illinois." Also, "The instruction shall be unsectarian, . . . Christian in character."

The new building was well suited to its purpose, being substantially built of brick. It formed one arm of a Greek cross, which was to be completed as the school grew. It consisted of a full basement, two stories for assembly, library, and classrooms, and a large attic which was later fitted as a gymnasium.

A circular projection topped by a cone-shaped roo broke the monotony of the otherwise plain east wall. Opposite this, on the west, rose a giant octagonal flue, with three sides projecting from the wall. This was not only intended to carry smoke from the immense furnace, but to draw foul air from the classrooms. So large was it that a man could easily enter it from the basement and build a bonfire, to create a draft when there was no fire in the furnace. The *Albion Journal* stated that this was the best ventilated and most evenly heated college or high school building in southern Illinois.

The five-acre campus gave ample room for athletics. The whole scope of the school was broadened and deepened. The teachers' course was extended to three years, and the classic to four. The professional standing of the president and his staff was excellent. The financing of the school was a real problem, however, for the tuition was purposely held to a

minimum to encourage the poorer pupils who would otherwise not be able to attend.

To illustrate the depths of wisdom into which the class of 1893 plunged and came up smiling, we hope, I am listing the names of its members, with the titles of their orations: "Trade Unions," Sadie Hodgson; "Downfall of Greece," Thomas A. Shepherd; "Co-operation," Constance Coles; "Single Tax," Jeff T. George; "National Festivals of Greece," Blanche Potter; "Protective Tariff," W. Edgar Hudgins; and "Trusts," Virginia Strawn.

Because of failing health, Prof. Kenyon resigned in November, 1893, so the school lost ground during the winter; but in spite of that, the class of '94 numbered sixteen—the largest up to that time. In that year, also, Miss Anna M. Sellers, who had been music teacher from the beginning of the Edwards County Normal, was married to Prof. S. S. Stahl. She continued her teaching, however, for some time.

Into this picture stepped the Rev. Frank Bristow Hines, who took over the presidency in July, 1894. He immediately began a strenuous canvass for new students, and for financial aid for the school. He was well fitted both by temperament and education. Born on a Kentucky farm thirty-six years before, he moved to Missouri with his father's family in 1866, and, after country school days were over, secured both A.B. and M.A. degrees at Drury, and a B.D. from Andover. After marrying Laura M. Saunders of Boston, he began his career as a Congregational minister at Carthage, Missouri. He later served at Metropolis, Illinois, from which place he was called to the pastorate of the new Congregational Church at Albion, and to the young S.C.I. as its president. In the same year that he assumed the presidency of the new college he was saddened by the death of his wife.

Having a fine appearance and a pleasing personality, the Rev. Frank Hines was at home in any company. Having studied all the tricks of the "elocution" of that day, he

could bend any audience or individual to his mood. He knew where to find the best talent or the most available fountain of ready cash, and could appeal with much success for the aid needed by the little college down in "Egypt" which was befriending the poor who needed Christian education. To this chore was added the problem of financing the splendid brick building to house the new church and the music department of the S.C.I.

Mary E. Dawes and Myrtle Renfrow constituted the first class to be graduated from the academic four-year course, in 1895.

The next year meant much to me, for I began a classical course of four years, paying my tuition by acting as janitor for the first story of the building. Deciding later to get married and finance my home life by teaching school, I switched to the normal course long enough to get a second-grade certificate and persuade Prof. Owen E. Harper to recommend me. Then I taught my first and only school at the very same place (Mills Prairie or Pinhook) and at the same fat salary ($30 per month) as had Mr. Hardy, quoted above.

After I had finished that year and paid for the suit of clothes I was married in, Prof. Hines evidently thought me rich enough to pay a part of my tuition for the next term. He charged me $1.50 in addition to the janitor work. So I paid a total of $1.50 for seven terms at S.C.I., which was the sum of my college education.

I remember our literary club held a mock county convention in 1897, with fluent speeches for and against certain candidates, the inevitable trading of votes between the different delegations, and the final selection of Morris Peters as sheriff, Charles Trueblood as county judge, Arch Bassett as county clerk, Dick Pritchard as circuit clerk, Oscar Morris as state's attorney, Charles Metcalf as superintendent of schools, and Clyde Michels as coroner. All were members of the club. Our convention song, composed by G. E. Wiggle,

another member, is quoted here:

> The Know-Nothing Party of the S.C.I.O.A. [S.C.I. Oratorical Assn.]
> Is a party that can never be surpassed,
> Always lives in clover, never has to do things over;
> And we'll trust in it to bring us through at last.

In March, the instructors were the Rev. F. B. Hines, the Rev. E. E. Shoemaker, Dr. S. S. Stahl, Prof. O. E. Harper, Prof. Alex. C. Sloan, and the Misses Anna M. Sellers, Frankie Patrick, and Laura Barber. The attendance amounted to eighty, besides art and music students.

Later in the year 1897—in August to be exact—Miss Amanda Anginetta Hemmingway, a graduate of Oberlin, joined the faculty, to my sorrow; for, knowing the subjects so well herself, the lessons she assigned were so long that they discouraged me. In December of that year she was married to the Rev. Mr. Hines, whose wife had died three years before; but this helped me not a bit, for she continued teaching.

As an offset to this, George Washington Bince also joined the faculty in this year. Born into a poor family in our neighboring county of Wabash, he was educated first in the small town of Bellmont, and then in the colleges at Carbondale and Effingham. He returned to teach in his home county, and from there was called to the S.C.I., where he served as teacher and as assistant to the president for about fifteen years. He was naturally and pre-eminently a student and a logical teacher, "leading the pupil from the known to the related unknown by an easy and gradual process." In fact, he was the best teacher I have ever known, both in the secular school and the Sunday School, for he was intensely interested in the well-rounded life of his pupils, and in the betterment of the community.

In 1899 an alumni association was formed. Also, "ladies' " football was introduced by Prof. Deems and became so popular that by 1902 there were eight teams of

S.C.I. students, including both sexes.

The financial affairs of the S.C.I. came to a focus in 1903, for the debt of the Edwards County Normal to the Edwards County Loan and Building Association had not been paid in the six-year period ending in 1896, as guaranteed under the bond executed by the forty-eight citizens. The Loan and Building Association still held a mortgage on the property being used by the S.C.I. and owned by the Congregational Association of Southern Illinois. It sued on the mortgage, and the property was sold at auction. On payment of $2,682, F. B. Hines was given a master's deed, and assigned the property to the S.C.I. on October 31, 1903, for $2,250. Also in October, 1903, the Congregational Association of Southern Illinois and its special educational committee assigned their interests in the bond to the S.C.I., which immediately began suit to recover the $10,000, plus $5,000 damages. For some reason, not apparent, the court dismissed the suit at its November session in 1903. The financial affairs of the S.C.I. seem, at this point, to have been entirely in their own hands, but were not in a very flourishing condition.

However, in May, 1904, it was reported that there had been more than one hundred in attendance at each term during the school year. Four new teachers were added before the next winter: Prof. Brittain, and the Misses Clara Huntley, Vera Criswell, and Lydia Lehigh—the latter being an elocutionist.

In December an appeal was made for an endowment of $50,000 to be raised, and a committee was appointed for that purpose. But it was not publicly announced as having been subscribed until Commencement day in October, 1908. Twenty thousand dollars of this was to be raised by citizens, and thirty thousand by the trustees.

As a means of advertising the school and as an outlet for the literary talent of the students, a twenty-page magazine called *The Egyptian Student* began its career in November,

1907. It carried the following information on its masthead: "Published monthly by the students of the Southern Collegiate Institute, at Albion, Ills., George Whitsett, Editor, Harlin Hill, Business Manager. Subscription price 50 cents a year." Editorially, Whitsett says:

> More than a hundred students have graduated, . . . and more than two thousand young men and women have received instruction in its [S.C.I.] classrooms. . . . A school, no more than an individual, can't hope to succeed unless it has some dominant feature of worth that causes it to attract attention. . . . We could wish for the S.C.I. nothing better than that its stand for purity, unselfishness and industry—consummated in Christian character—may be magnified until the S.C.I. will be respected for its high ideals and the purposeful young people who go out to influence others to be manly and womanly.

About 1908, Mrs. Stahl resigned as teacher of piano, and gave place to Miss Elizabeth Bowman of Grayville, Illinois. Miss Margaret Strawn followed in 1910. Miss Ella Russell Hodgson was teacher of vocal music in 1905-1907. Miss Claggett and Mr. Dunn were music teachers somewhere along the line; and perhaps others of whom I do not have any record.

About this time ninety per cent of Edwards County's teachers were educated at the S.C.I., while three neighboring county superintendents of schools were former students.

The urge for more and better rooms, and particularly for a good gymnasium, resulted in so many donations of money from friends, and labor from college students, that a beautiful $10,000 addition was built. It was constructed of very dark brick from the Albion Shale Brick factory, with the corners and windows trimmed in chipped, red brick. A full basement housed the laboratory and a classroom. On the first floor there were two large classrooms. The second was a dormitory of fourteen rooms. The third floor was the gymnasium. In June, 1912, this addition was appropriately dedicated.

A second mortgage was given to the Congregational

Southern Collegiate Institute, Albion, Illinois,
As It Appeared in 1912 After An Addition
Was Completed

ducational Committee, on August 14, 1911, to secure $5,000) apply on the cost of this building.

From the *Albion Journal* of August 29, 1912, we copy this litorial:

> The S.C.I. dedicated a large addition to the building last June. This as been especially designed to meet the growing needs of the student. is joined to the north side of the old building and is about completed ith the exception of the basement where more classrooms and rooms for ie Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A. will be finished next summer. There ill be a complete system of water-works through the building, with eam heat and electric lights. The old part will be entirely renovated and me of the rooms used for different purposes than formerly. The old apel room will be the dining room for the boys of the dormitory and e girls of Lida Hall. [Lida's Hall was a large private home used as a rmitory for girls, with Mrs. Elizabeth Sisson as matron.] A junior urse, which means the first two years of college work, has been added the regular preparatory work. The course given here corresponds with at of the Lewis Institute in Chicago and the Bradley Polytechnic in oria.

From an article by Miss Marion Hines, daughter of Prof. B. Hines, I quote the following: "The Southern Collegiate stitute not only prepares for college and business, but gives vo years of college work, so that a graduate from the junior llege course may enter the third year of university work."

Three young women and one young man, Laura Hines, ary Conley, Bessie Smith, and Albert Gray, composed the aduating class in 1913. Then came tragedy to the S.C.I. In ugust, 1913, Prof. F. B. Hines resigned. For twenty stren- us years he had shouldered the burden, until he was earied, and the public was restless under the constant egging"—as they called his efforts to secure funds. But r him, the S.C.I. would have starved to death long before. e had watched his dream child grow into maturity, well used, with good equipment and competent teachers, and average attendance above a hundred. It should be able to re for itself.

From a letter lately received from his successor, Prof. vid P. Zetterberg, I quote:

Mr. Hines was still president of the S.C.I. when my services we first engaged in the summer of 1913, but he severed his active connecti before the beginning of the school year, that fall; and, as a consequen due to his removal from Albion, I did not have the benefit of his long e perience and faithful service. I was acting head of the school that ye and became president by action of the board, before the beginning of t next school year. The school did not close until a year or more after I l to take charge of the Township High School at Lockport, Illinois.

Things seem to have progressed well during Preside Zetterberg's first year, as shown by the following extra from the S.C.I. notes in the *Albion Journal* of March 26, 191

The Trustees of the school, living in or near Chicago, held a me ing last week at Chicago City Club. Mr. and Mrs. A. P. Zetterberg w present. The expression is general that the college with its new buildi and equipment and the promising outlook, is entering upon a period permanent growth.

To add to the beauty of the campus, many trees, flowe and shrubs, donated by the people of Albion, were plant by the students, under the direction of landscape gardene from the University of Illinois, in May, 1915. Some of the still remain.

During the school year of 1915-1916, President Zett berg having resigned, the Rev. George H. Williams, past of the local Congregational Church, served also as preside of the S.C.I. The class that graduated on June 8, 1916, w the last, and consisted of James Fay Hardy, Camille Ma Johnson, Lelia Allison, Edith Milburn, and Verda Barton the academic course, and Naomi Genevieve Mann in mus The baccalaureate sermon was preached by the Rev. M Williams. The class motto was: "To thyself be true."

What could have been a better thought with which close the career of the school! And that was the end, for t trustees announced through the *Albion Journal* that th would be no school in 1916-1917. Not only that. The Co gregational Church soon disbanded after selling its beauti church building to the Methodists.

The records of the church and college were burned in

cidental fire, so this story has been constructed from scat-
ed sources, with the result that mistakes may appear and
ich may be left unsaid.

If you were to ask the citizens of this community about
e contributions of the S.C.I. to the uplift of our civiliza-
n, you would meet with a variety of answers. When asked
name the most outstanding individuals who have paused
a while to absorb its atmosphere, strengthening them-
ves for their upward climb, they would almost surely
int to three lawyers.

John H. Strawn, son of Judge H. J. Strawn of whom Mr.
rdy spoke in his letter, began his education in the public
ools of Albion, passed through the S.C.I. to the Univer-
y of Illinois, graduated from the Chicago Law School, and
s admitted to the Illinois bar in 1897. Ten years later, he
s appointed assistant national bank receiver, and placed
charge of the insolvent Fayette County Bank at Union-
vn, Pennsylvania, which had a debt of $8,000,000. In nine
rs all obligations to depositors and all other debts had
n paid in full, and Mr. Strawn had earned an enviable
utation among financiers, as well as among the depositors
argely hard-working foreigners who understood little con-
ning American business methods. He died in December,
5, when about to be appointed United States Comptroller
the Currency.

Bruce A. Campbell lived just across the street from John
awn. As a boy of about fourteen years, he graduated from
Albion High School; at eighteen, from the S.C.I.; at
enty, from the University of Illinois, with an A.B. degree;
l, having studied law in his father's office from time to
e, he was admitted to the bar in December, 1901, at the
of twenty-two. Three years later, he was elected to the
nois House of Representatives. In 1913, he declined an
ointment as assistant attorney general. He is now a cor-
ation lawyer, and chief attorney for the Southern Rail-

way, with residence and office in East St. Louis, Illinois.

Third in this trio of lawyers is S. Eugene Quindry, wh was born in White County, Illinois. He came to the S.C. via the White County public schools and Hayworth Colle in Wayne County. After studying law in the office of Jud Strawn and also that of Judge I. W. Ibbotson, he began t practice of law in Albion in 1907. In the next year he w elected state's attorney by a majority of 575 votes over h Democratic opponent, Judge J .M. Campbell, father of Bru A. Campbell. In 1915 he was appointed private secretary Justice Warren W. Duncan of the Illinois Supreme Cou later, moving to Chicago, he became a member of the la firm of McKinley, Price and Quindry. He is now connect with the State Department of Finance at Springfield, whe he resides.

But the chief value of the S.C.I. lay not so much boosting a few to the top of the ladder but in the inspirati and training it gave to many like myself, who would othe wise never have risen above the country school, or, at be the three-year high school which was then available on in town.

Between these two extremes was that worthwhile a prosperous element who came from families of vision p sessed of enough of this world's riches to send their childr through our colleges and universities. These now fill pro inent positions in every profession, and, though scatter throughout the world, are still proud to own they once a tended the S.C.I., with its wholesome atmosphere and i timate contacts with its earnest and Christian teachers.

"But, why did the S.C.I. fail?" you may ask. Wh better than the Congregational Church that fostered it, c answer that question? Bearing in mind that it was a missio ary effort aimed at Christianizing the natives, and incide ally training young people in preparation for the ministr I will quote from *A History of Illinois Congregational a*

hristian Churches, edited by Matthew Spinka.[1]

These educational foundations were against the flowing tide of pub-c education. Within a few short decades the academy movement failed. evertheless, the denomination deserves appreciation for doing much to ise the level of schooling in this state. In the long run it was the com-onwealth and not the denomination that profited thereby, for the col-ge youth that these institutions prepared did not go into the ministerial ofession in anything like the numbers that were needed. For this dis-ppointment, not education, but the unattractiveness of the ministry was ostly to blame.

The "flowing tide of public education" had added a urth year to the high school course in Albion in 1909, hich was free to all in the district, and open to outsiders n payment of tuition by their own districts. The faculty as excellent, and equipment adequate. This was also true roughout all the territory served by the S.C.I.

A second cause of failure was inadequate finance. In nouncing the discontinuance of the S.C.I. in 1916, the *lbion Journal* remarked: "For the past several years the hool has been going down financially, and a large deficit s faced the trustees at the close of each school year. . . . everend F. B. Hines . . . quit because the school was not ceiving the support it deserved."

As I have already indicated, I think the greatest con-ibuting factor to the downfall was the resignation of Pres-ent Hines, on whom rested the administrative work which uilt it into the busy hive of Christian activity and learning hich we all loved.

The building and grounds passed into private hands via e mortgage route. One hundred and fifty books from its e library—built upon a nucleus of books donated by Eng-hmen to the first library in Albion when the town was unded by George Flower—were given to the present Albion brary. Many others were junked.

For a short time the building was used as an orphans' me, conducted by the Christian Benevolent Association of

[1] Pp. 162-63.

St. Louis, Mrs. T. R. Ayers, president. Then for a long tim
it stood unoccupied. Now it has been reduced to a mass o
debris from which already a new structure is rising. By th
time this article appears in print the hum of machinery ma
already have blended with the voices of bygone days. N
longer do we look regretfully at the old building, standin
idle and neglected, though many of us still have memori
of other days, and of faces we "have loved long since, an
lost awhile."

THE WESLEY FOUNDATION IN URBANA

The Origin of an Idea

BY W. G. PIERSEL

HALFWAY between Champaign and Urbana lay "that cow college," the twenty-year-old University of Illinois. In the area north of the campus were scattered a few small houses. Into this region, derisively called "Oklahoma," moved an elderly Methodist minister, John Paintor White. Vigorously opposing the secession of his beloved Virginia, the Rev. Mr. White had been forced to leave the state, and his travels finally brought him to Urbana. With the fervor of the early preachers, he promptly formed a class which met under the campus elms or in a Methodist home nearby. This small group was established in 1891. Soon there was a small Sunday School as well.

Aiding White in preaching was Isaac Groves, a retired minister of the Illinois Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. When the need for a meeting place to house the Sunday School became apparent, the Rev. Mr. Groves was influential in raising money. J. C. Sheldon, an Urbana business man, suggested that a church be built and made a generous contribution toward it. So a frame church seating nearly three hundred was erected on the northwest corner of Mathews and Springfield avenues in 1892. The cornerstone was laid on October first. Because Mr. and Mrs. Milton S. Parks of Urbana gave the ground, the building was named Parks Chapel. The first deed stipulated that the ground should always be used for religious purposes or revert to the

heirs. December fourth must have been a proud Sunday for "Oklahoma" when, with thirty charter members, the church was dedicated by Dr. Jesse Bowman Young of St. Louis.

As part of the Champaign Circuit of the Illinois Conference (Methodist Episcopal Church), Parks Chapel was served for three years by the Rev. Clarence Reed. The building was struck by lightning and burned in June, 1894, but it was promptly rebuilt. H. C. Wilkin, a patriarch of the church, collected most of the gifts donated for this purpose which, added to the insurance received, made it possible to build a more substantial structure. The rededication of Parks Chapel, debt free, was held in September, 1894, with Bishop Thomas Bowman preaching. The first board of trustees consisted of Judson Sayers, J. S. Wilson, S. T. Hawkins, and James S. Kilbury.

The Rev. E. K. Towle was appointed to the circuit in the following year, and in 1896 Parks Chapel was removed from the Champaign Circuit and combined with Leverett as a two-point charge. This is the first time that the name "Parks Chapel" appears in the annual conference *Minutes* as a preaching point. The Rev. W. W. Henry became minister in 1898. He was laughed at for suggesting that the congregation would be able to buy more ground within twenty years. These three ministers—Reed, Towle, and Henry—receiving an annual salary of about $600, plus $30 or so for house rent, did heroic work. Towle once described his pastorate as "three terrible years." In the eight years from 1892 to 1900, however, Parks Chapel had been changed from a preaching point on a circuit to a separate charge. The church membership had grown from 30 charter members to more than 200, the Sunday School enrollment exceeded 150, and there were 50 in the Epworth League, the young people's organization. The church's contributions to benevolences were close to $300 annually in the two years of Henry's pastorate. But the Methodist Board of Home Missions still gave

$100 a year toward the pastor's salary.

As the only church in the university area, Parks Chapel drew students who were unwilling to attend the larger churches in Champaign and Urbana. Methodists enrolled at the university numbered 300, perhaps a fourth of the student body. The pastors, as well as a few others, saw the opportunity for a church enterprise that would meet the needs of a growing student body. While there was some talk about this, the favored plan seemed to be to organize another church in a better residential district farther south. But the community seemed indifferent, funds were meager, and none of the ministers remained long enough to begin active work on such a difficult undertaking.

Willard Nathan Tobie was appointed to Parks Chapel in 1900. Only a few years previously he had been a student at Cornell University, where one of his fellow students was Joseph C. Blair. On coming to Urbana, Tobie completed his studies for a degree, and became acquainted with a number of the faculty. He found Blair an instructor in the College of Agriculture, and soon the two were close friends. Great teachers were on the university staff, among them Thomas J. Burrill, generally conceded to be the first university professor in America to teach the theory of evolution, Charles M. Moss, and Charles Wesley Rolfe. These were ardent churchmen of liberal views; they became Tobie's counselors. With Blair they comprised the nucleus of a slowly increasing number of faculty people who actively approved the student work of the church.

Many students came to know Tobie as a fellow student, and some of them came to him for counsel. These demands on his time helped him to realize the need of trained counselors among the students. He was repeating the experience of his predecessors. Latecomers to church were often turned away because the building was crammed full. In nice weather even the open windows were filled with members of the congrega-

tion. Very clearly the building was too small. Tobie told Blair in 1901, "We have to build a new church here to meet the needs of Methodist students."

No wonder he was thought visionary, talking about a new church. In the first place, the congregation was composed of people without money. Those who had it went to the downtown church in either Champaign or Urbana. The Chapel was a mission church, with part of the pastor's salary being paid by a mission board. The last pastor had said something about purchasing more ground and had been ridiculed. And here was Tobie talking about a new church. True, a $2,000 parsonage was built by the church, an event which caused the presiding elder to report at annual conference (1901) that the pastor showed "remarkable leadership."

The need for a larger church weighed on Tobie. The opportunity for service and guidance to the students was patent. Blair remarked that he often walked with the pastor on summer evenings. Especially did they like to be on the campus where, together, they seemed to face the problem most sharply. The situation was clear; a small church without financial resources, an increasing number of Methodist students, and a strategic location for a church to serve the potential leaders of the state. The problem was equally clear in its outlines: How was money for an adequate student program to be secured? How could increased faculty support be aroused? How could a student program be developed most effectively to fasten student loyalty to the church? Day after day Tobie lay on the grass in an agony of study and prayer about his problem. It was his for he was pastor of the church. And prayer, frequent and fervent, was his first recourse.

The answer came—sudden as a flash of insight—during his second year at Urbana. Breath-taking, revolutionary as it was, it became the theme of his ministry at Parks Chapel and Trinity Church. Briefly, this was his answer.

The Methodists of the whole state were rightfully re-

sponsible for the care of the Methodist students at the state university. These young people came from homes throughout the state. Their home folks were interested in them. They wanted their sons and daughters to have the same religious guidance they would have at home or in a Methodist college. But as far as Parks Chapel was concerned, these students were a transient, floating population; they could not be expected to do much in the way of church support. Parks Chapel itself was a mission charge. It did not have the resources to care adequately for these fine young people. It was the duty, the God-given privilege, of Methodism in Illinois to support a church program for its own young people attending the state university.[1]

An idea so unheard of, so astonishing, was beyond the comprehension of most people. Tobie's task of educating the church at large was no small one. Wherever he could preach or talk, he spoke of this project. Numerous articles came from his pen. He wrote hundreds of letters, circulated literature, interviewed people, and made an appearance at every Methodist conference in the state in years to come. He stated one phase of the problem: "Local and denominational interest blinded many to the great fact that Methodist young people must be met where they are."[2]

Religious forces had fought the establishment of a state (and therefore some people thought irreligious) university. Popularly supposed to be a center of godlessness, the school had never stood high in favor with many church people. Ministers and laymen alike battled Tobie, not because he wanted to build a new church, but because he dared ask the Methodist conferences to sanction the idea of supporting a church enterprise as a part of the state university community.

The crucial test of Tobie's challenge came at the annual

[1] The answer was revolutionary to Tobie. The writer believes that the answer, both in idea and expression, was new, not only in Illinois Methodism, not only in American Methodism, but also in American ecclesiastical thought.

[2] Charles M. Moss, *History of Trinity Methodist Episcopal Church* (pamphlet privately printed, [1921]).

conference in 1902, only a few months after he conceived the idea. Presiding Elder W. H. Wilder had given Tobie great and constant encouragement. He closed his report at the conference with a section entitled "Methodism's Opportunity." Then Professor Burrill, who was an honored layman, addressed the conference on the needs of Parks Chapel in relation to the students. Subsequently, the committee on domestic missions, the Rev. M. M. Want, chairman, brought in a resolution favoring joint action with the brother conferences of the state in raising funds for a new church for Parks Chapel. Against formidable and bitter opposition it was passed. This resolution was thus the first official church action on Pastor Tobie's vision. A mighty obstacle had been surmounted.

We can see that Tobie's leadership was exercised in subtle ways. Where many were eager for personal notice, seeking it by their many activities, Tobie ignored such opportunities. Parks Chapel was presented to the conference by Dean Burrill and by leading ministers; when his superiors in age, in position, and in experience would support him, Tobie yielded the rostrum to them. By thus working through those of wider influence, Tobie gained more respectful hearings for his plans than might have been accorded his own personal pleas. At a conference other than his own, Tobie was roundly insulted after he spoke. But, like a good politician, he was seeking friends for his plans and he bore the disfavor in amiable spirits.

Tobie's five-point program for student work now became the basis of his persistent requests for funds. He proposed: (1) instruction in religious subjects, then regarded as outside the scope of the university curriculum; (2) lectures by leaders of the church; (3) education of Methodist students in their church principles and policy; (4) a daily program of student activities; and (5) interdenominational co-operation in student work.

Bible study met with his hearty approval, and he himself occasionally gave a brief course of lectures entitled "How We Got the Bible." Aside from his conviction of its personal value, he probably felt that this would help remove the stigma of atheism and godlessness from the university.

Local Methodist leaders gave lectures during these years. Professor Moss and W. W. Stearns, assistant to the president of the university, shared this responsibility with Tobie. In later years, the Wilkin Lecture Fund was established, and through it ministers of national reputation came to speak to Methodist students on the campus.

Knowledge of the principles and policies, as well as the religious tenets of Methodism, was, for the pastor, a *sine qua non* of churchmanship. While there were, as yet, no other churches near the campus, Tobie foresaw that they would inevitably come if one denomination led the way. The first of these others was that of the Disciples of Christ, who established the University Place Christian Church in 1903 with the Rev. Stephen E. Fisher as minister. He is still minister of that congregation.

So Pastor Tobie forged ahead. Immediately after the annual conference in 1902, with its epoch-making resolution, the official board of Parks Chapel voted to solicit funds for a new church. With that official action, the little mission chapel committed itself to a larger program and to a development which, if Tobie remained as pastor, would be vitally related to the Methodist students.

Thirty thousand dollars, a gigantic sum for Parks Chapel, was unanimously approved as the goal on January 1, 1903. But the board hedged by saying that the total amount should be pledged before any contracts for building operations were let. Nonetheless it was heroic action, a reflection of the burning zeal of their pastor, though everything was against them. Methodist conferences were apathetic; local churches hesitated to give support lest their own

financial resources be weakened. But the campaign started and a total of $5,000 was pledged in the first fortnight. The subscriptions crawled up to $7,000—and stuck.

Meanwhile there had been continuing discussion of another church for the students, leaving Parks Chapel undisturbed. Although Tobie was personally popular, there was some feeling against the development of his church as *the* student church. Soon after the annual conference in 1903, Burrill and Rolfe suggested a more general movement for the enterprise; thus it would include Parks Chapel and others interested, especially local people. After an exchange of letters, the presiding elder appointed a citizens' committee to take over and carry on. This committee, named on October 21, 1903, included, besides Burrill, Rolfe, and Tobie, Messrs. I. H. French of Champaign, Spencer Huff of Urbana, C. M. Moss of the university faculty, and C. A. Dale, C. E. Percival, and Judson Sayers of Parks Chapel.

The campaign funds amounted to $10,000 by conference time in 1904, whereupon the official board rescinded its previous action which provided that no contracts be let before the full amount was pledged. The ministers of the conference gave $500 for a "Wesley Window." Students contributed the money for the windows of the west transept. The last mass meeting held in Parks Chapel was a rally for ministers and laymen in the interests of the new church, on January 11, 1905. Soon afterwards the old building was torn down. The congregation worshipped in Old Main Hall on the campus while the new church slowly rose on the site of humble Parks Chapel.

In the absence of any other name, this church was known as the Second Methodist Church of Urbana. When Mr. and Mrs. Parks gave the lot for the first building, solicitation of funds had been for the "Second Methodist Church." During the campaign, when it appeared that the old name would not be used, the pledges were often made to the "Second

Trinity Church, Urbana, Illinois, 1907

Methodist Church." It was a useful appellation, subject to change without hurting any feelings.

The cornerstone of the new edifice was laid on May 29, 1905. Then arose the question of a suitable name. At an official board meeting, the names "Trinity" and "Epworth" were considered. The ballot by the board was a tie, so Mrs. C. A. Dale, the wife of an official member, was called in. She cast the deciding vote for "Trinity."

Tobie had been fortunate in having a presiding elder who approved his views and gave him encouragement. Dr. Wilder's interest in young people was not lightly sectarian, although he had previously been president of Illinois Wesleyan University. Without this backing, Tobie could not have gained the hearing for his ideas that was so vital to their approval. Wilder was succeeded in 1904 by Charles B. Taylor, a son-in-law of J. C. Sheldon. As was to be expected, Taylor also was sympathetic to Tobie's plans. The following year he reported at conference that the walls of the new Trinity Church were nearly completed, and that the interior would be enclosed by December. The total subscriptions at that time amounted to more than $18,000. With the new church facing a serious deficit—for it was to cost more than he anticipated $30,000—the Illinois annual conference took an unprecedented action by adopting the following resolution:

> *Resolved*, That the members of the Illinois Conference be and are hereby instructed to present to their respective congregations the conditions, needs and opportunities of Methodism at the seat of the University of Illinois, and, not later than November 12th, 1905, to take a public collection and subscription to assist in building Trinity Methodist Episcopal Church, now being erected at the campus of the State University.[3]

Tobie was authorized to convey a request for similar action to the other conferences in the state. And it was during this mission that he was so bitterly opposed.

[3] *Minutes of the Illinois Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, 82nd Sess., 1905 (Springfield, 1905), 63.

A new ally had appeared in 1904, one whose active in terest was to be a potent directing influence in Trinit Church and the Wesley Foundation until 1920. Edmun Janes James, a Methodist, a man of great personal charm, man whose reputation as an administrator was well estab lished, succeeded to the presidency of the University c Illinois.

President James held an informal meeting in the sprin of 1906 with Rolfe, Taylor, and Tobie. At this meeting h advanced the idea of a separate organization, linked wit Trinity Church, for religious work among the students. H anticipated the heavy burden that would fall on Trinity i caring for the large Methodist constituency among the stu dents. Moreover, he probably believed that a separate orgar ization would stand a better chance of securing adequat state-wide support. James was known to have been favorabl to the multiple college organization of the English unive sities. According to Taylor, he also expressed himself a favoring university credit for religious instruction. It is t be presumed that James promised his personal support t any venture that Tobie might make in this field.

At the quarterly conference held on May 7, 1906, ther must have been considerable discussion unreported in th minutes of the meeting. The outcome, however, is cle enough. A Trinity College was projected. The followin men were chosen members of the board of control: T. Burrill, George W. Miller, J. N. Trueman, Jesse Meharry Joseph C. Carter, and Joseph C. Nate. A seventh was to b chosen with the approval of the presiding elder, C. B. Taylo This much, and no more, is revealed by the records in th Wesley archives.

Although Tobie was repeatedly sought by students fo counsel on personal problems, there was considerable diff culty in making satisfactory contacts between new student and the church. In letters to pastors asking for the names c

l Methodist students coming to the university, Tobie eaded, "Remember that I am saving your young people r *you*."[4] To new students thus named he wrote a word of elcome and proposed that they bring their church transfer tters. Of course home town ministers were loath to see eir membership rolls thus reduced, even slightly; so Tobie vised a plan of affiliate membership. The student away at llege became affiliated with the church of his choice, and as so recorded on the rolls of the campus church. When he t school, this affiliation automatically ceased; but there as never any disturbance of his full relationship with his urch at home. This plan was adopted officially by the ethodist Episcopal Church within a few years.

Meanwhile the building of the new church had pro-essed so far that Taylor reported at conference in 1906 on ans for holding the dedication exercises in October. In estertonian manner he referred to the coming event as he final inauguration of one of the most important re-gious enterprises in Methodism."[5] He could not know how portant that religious enterprise would become, what uld come out of it, and how the student "Foundation" ea would spread through the civilized world.

Dedication actually took place on November 4, 1906. arking as it did the culmination of Tobie's heroic effort, still had a tragic note. There was a paean of joy in the re-rt that every dollar of the cost was provided for at the ne of dedication. But pledges of over $13,000 were wrung m those in attendance, and Pastor Tobie himself pledged e final $1,000.

Early in 1907 he asked to be moved to another charge. seemed to feel that his work at Trinity was completed, t possibly the pulpit should be filled by a different type minister. Then, too, in spite of advances in membership

[4] Scrapbook kept by W. N. Tobie while pastor of Parks Chapel (in Archives of the ley Foundation).

[5] *Conference Minutes*, 83rd Sess., 1906, p. 34.

and the erection of a new church, the pastor's salary w uncomfortably low, although it had been raised $200 in 19 Dr. Taylor, the presiding elder, secured a promise fr Bishop William Fraser McDowell to appoint anyone might nominate. His choice was James Chamberlain Bak son of the head of Chaddock Collegiate Institute, now Ch dock Boys School, at Quincy. Baker was a graduate of I nois Wesleyan, had studied philosophy at Boston un Bowne, and taught Greek at Missouri Wesleyan. In 1905 was appointed to the Methodist Church at McLean, Illin After a Trinity committee had heard him preach, Taylor not hesitate to recommend his appointment. So a young m of twenty-eight, schooled in philosophy and familiar w college life, was appointed to the still new Trinity pul

Tobie's jovial word to Baker as he clapped him on shoulder was, "Well, Baker, I suppose it's the best that be done for Trinity." It was also a prophetic word.

"No man," Baker told the writer, "could have b more of a brother to me than Tobie."

During four years at Douglas Avenue Church, Spri field, Tobie had more time to read and relax. But his j carious health began to fail, and after four years at Linc he was transferred to Grand Junction, Colorado, where died two years later. His last request was that he be bu in Urbana and that the services be held in his beloved Trin Every church he had ever served sent a delegation to funeral.

As Professor Moss lived to see the fruition of Tob labors, his evaluation has peculiar value:

> Let it be repeated that in a small community, near the univer among people of no means, with the university suffering from a rep tion for infidelity which it did not deserve, with the Methodists of community too much interested in their own local concerns to take an terest in the matter, and suspicious that the new enterprise might le their support, with the Methodists of the state unwilling to help bec they did not appreciate the need of caring for their own children at

versity, and averse to contributing anything to that vital cause for the son that the university had the reputation spoken of and Methodist ools demanded their support, with many people in and out of the ulty believing that a church could not be built from the more than der resources of the congregation or any help it was likely to receive, with the university growth just beginning and problematical in spite he faith of its friends, with all these circumstances against him, Tobie mplished a task which, in its significance for the future, has no allel in the annals of Illinois Methodism. One hesitates to imagine, n, what would have been the history of these later years if that per- ring man had not cleared the way by his heroic faith.[6]

At the time of Baker's appointment to Trinity, teachers philosophy were leaning toward doubt and agnosticism, both teaching and thinking. Discussion of the bases of ief led students, all too frequently, into a critical per- xity as far as their own religious beliefs were concerned. ker's own philosophical background enabled him to set rest problems of doubt insofar as they affected religion l the church. He found his effective argument in a truly thodist view—by securing acceptance of personal relig- s experience. That which a man has felt cannot be taken m him. Neither can it be denied by others because it can- be known to them.

Within a year of his coming to Trinity, the church mem- ship jumped from 300 to 421. New members included sident James and faculty members who transferred from st Church, Urbana. The Sunday School enrollment dou- d, jumping from 250 to 516, and the Epworth League ned 40 new members. These increases were reflected in the nces. The pastor's salary was raised $300, benevolences t up from $539 to $801, and current expenses were in- sed from $760 to $1,000.

These changes could not but give Baker a feeling of con- nce. Nonetheless he made the first year a time of orienta- n to the new situation. Somewhat familiar with the ideas plans involved in the building of Trinity Church, he did

[6] Moss, *History of Trinity Church.*

not know of his predecessor's plan in detail. He soon e visaged a larger student work coupled with state-wide su port for it, as had Tobie. Preliminary plans for action i cluded four steps: namely, rallying support of the local co munity, choosing a conference committee, securing joi action with similar committees from the other conferences the state, and the backing of the program by Bishop M Dowell. The first and the last were the easiest to win.

The conference session in 1908 named a group to repo on student work at the next session. This body had the fo bidding name of "The Commission for Work Among Met odist Students at the State University." Their report to t conference in 1909 contained the following significant par graph:

> The local church will care for its own expenses, the support of pastor, its music, etc. But the furnishing of special workers among t young men and the young women, the provision of a social center, dor tory accommodations, etc., must be cared for by the Methodism of t State.[7]

This seems to be the first public statement looking t ward a social center-dormitory group of buildings for Met odist work at Urbana. It was Baker's thought, his idea. H wrote most, if not all, of the conference reports on stude work. Dr. Taylor, his district superintendent[8] at the tim and a member of the above-mentioned commission, has r peatedly stated that the social center idea was Baker's ow

The commission chose an executive committee consis ing of F. B. Madden, who replaced Taylor on the distric R. F. McDaniel (pastor of First Church, Urbana), Bake Jesse Meharry, C. Dyer, H. B. Boyer, Dr. Taylor, Profess Rolfe, and J. W. Van Cleve (pastor of First Church, Decatur This committee, on February 11, 1910, approved securing option on the "Turner place" on Mathews Avenue acro from the church.

[7] *Conference Minutes*, 86th Sess., 1909, p. 80.

[8] This title replaced the term "presiding elder" by action of the general conferenc the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1908.

At this time, Trinity Church was overcrowded. The Sunday School classes overflowed into university buildings; church services were so crowded that latecomers were turned away every Sunday; and the Epworth League jammed the basement. For a building only four years old, this was a serious situation. Besides, skrinkage in payments of pledges made necessary the raising of $2,500 additional to clear the church of debt. This was done in the late spring of 1910.

Baker's drawing power and the success of the student program amounted to "an embarrassment of riches" as far as getting the crowds was concerned. Serious questions faced the residential members of the church. What measures should be taken to prevent the students from monopolizing Trinity even while they were received as affiliate members? Every Sunday of the early autumn found the aisles filled with students joining the church. Baker was so busy working with various student groups that some parishioners thought he spent too little time on his duties with the members who were permanent residents. Features of the student work included Friday evening "socials" in the church basement, an annual spring banquet, and a social service department to take calls on new students and on those who were sick. Student activities were maintained on a seven-day-a-week schedule.

In his efforts to finance the student program Baker encountered not only the apathy that his predecessor had found, but also active opposition. State schools did not easily outgrow their reputation for wickedness. In a day when card playing and dancing were severely condemned by many religious organizations that now tolerate them, this was to be expected. To some people, spending money for religious work among students was wasteful. Opposition also came from denominational colleges who were apprehensive for the possible loss of students. One of their chief talking points had been the definitely religious molds of their ad-

ministrations. Methodism looked to its church schools t recruit and train those who would enter vocations withi the church. As Baker made no secret of his intentions to d the same thing, the opposition of the presidents of thes denominational colleges was to be anticipated.

In considering the location of Trinity Church, Rolfe an Moss had favored a tract at the corner of Green Street an Goodwin Avenue known as the McClain lots. Tobie, how ever, had insisted on the Parks Chapel site, and the matte was dropped without a formal decision, although M. S Parks had given an absolute deed to replace his former cor ditional one. The first house west (toward the campus) c the McClain lots was purchased as a parsonage in 1910.

Beyond question, James had discussed with Baker, a he had with Tobie, his ideas of a separate organization fc student work. In view of the abortive attempt to found Trinity College, one may judge that Tobie listened with willing ear. The proposal for a social center, as made at cor ference in 1909, gives no indication of its connection with c separation from Trinity. It is certain, however, that Baker conception was gaining ground through his persuasive ap peals and energetic presentations.

Mr. Lloyd Morey, comptroller of the university and fc a quarter of a century organist and director of music at Tri ity Church, tells the following significant anecdote. In th early summer of 1912, James and Baker were sitting on th parsonage porch, facing the McClain lots. As twilight w coming on, James waved his hand toward the open spa and declared, "There is the place for your Foundation." Ar Baker never questioned that the president was right.

Without committing themselves to a too early decisic on the matter of form, it seemed advisable to Baker and h advisers to give legal sanction to the proposed "Found tion," in order that it might hold property, and also to di tinguish it from Trinity Church. Accordingly, the commi

sion sought from all four Methodist conferences in the state the authority to incorporate. This was granted at the 1912 sessions. So in the brief span of one decade from the first conference action favoring any financial support of the Methodist work at Urbana, Illinois Methodism had approved incorporation of a Foundation, to carry on the constantly increasing student work at the university.

Money difficulties had been encountered, meanwhile, in connection with the purchase of the Turner place. Therefore, in November, 1912, the executive committee decided to sell it and take an option on the McClain lots. The sale of the Turner place was consummated a year later, but the commission was the loser by several hundred dollars spent for taxes and repairs. Although the decision had been reached to take an option on the site approved by James, the executive committee was reluctant to go ahead without the approval of Bishop McDowell, whose hearty interest in the project had been indicated many times.

In the spring of 1913 occurred one of those momentous, yet little known and seldom remembered, meetings at which the leaders took action on faith and little else. McDowell had come to Urbana. On the way to the President's House for luncheon, Baker walked with him past the selected property. During the afternoon discussion, the pastor reported that an option could be secured on it, and that the purchase price was $20,000. At the bishop's behest Baker departed, and returning in a half-hour, laid the option on the table. The first payment was raised then and there among the small group present.

An extended report on the Methodist work at Urbana was made to the annual conference session in 1913. Included were the following statements:

> Articles of Incorporation for "The Wesley Foundation at the University of Illinois" have been drawn up. Provision is made in those articles for a Board of thirteen Trustees—two from each Conference in the State (one ministerial and one lay) and five at large. One of the latter is

nominated directly by our General Board of Education. The Incorporation is "Auxiliary" to the Board of Education, and all our plans have had the direct approval of Secretary Nicholson.[9]

This is the first time that the name "Wesley Foundation" appears in the conference *Minutes*. The charter was issued on October 13, 1913, to the following: James C. Baker, Thomas J. Burrill, J. C. Blair, E. P. Little, F. B. Madden, A. P. Gulick, C. B. Taylor, C. W. Rolfe, and S. W. Love. Thus the Wesley Foundation came into being.

Part of the program of extension was an immediate campaign for $200,000. This was not to be a whirlwind drive but a quiet, sustained effort to secure gifts for the "social center" which now seemed to be, unofficially, the first step in a building program. Only ten years previously the trustees of little Parks Chapel, under the urging of Tobie's indomitable spirit, had voted to raise $30,000 for a new church. For several years that church had been greatly overcrowded. Under the guidance and energy of another pastor, a larger group had voted to raise nearly seven times as much; and the last $2,500 of the church debt had been paid but three years before! No wonder a Champaign banker exclaimed, "Do these Methodists ever stop raising money?"

The first meeting of the board of trustees of the Wesley Foundation was held at Urbana in December, 1913. Bishop McDowell was elected chairman, F. B. Madden vice-chairman, J. S. Dancey secretary, and C. B. Taylor treasurer. A subcommittee was empowered to act on the purchase of the Osborne lots, lying just south of the McClain tract. This action was in line with the thought of gradually extending the property holdings in contemplation of additional buildings. On the suggestion of the newly chosen executive secretary, G. E. McCammon, the board voted to incur no obligations for buildings until the land for them was free of all encumbrance.

[9] *Conference Minutes*, 90th Sess., 1913, p. 92.

With the Foundation a corporate unit, student work at Urbana began to receive widespread publicity in the church press and in a number of Illinois newspapers as well. A Methodist weekly in Boston stressed its work with foreign students. Since the university was becoming recognized as one of the great schools of the nation, increasing numbers of Oriental students came to the Twin Cities (Champaign and Urbana). A significant part of this article concerned the Chinese:

> Dr. and Mrs. Baker have made of their home practically a social center. Here they assemble from time to time groups of young people . . . .
>
> Among these young men and young women there is a group worthy of special note. It is made up of fifty-four Chinese youths, picked by the government in competitive examinations—among the flower intellectually of the republic. To bring this future leadership of the new regime in China under wholesome religious influence is a privilege and duty of surpassing magnitude. Already Dr. Baker has received ten or twelve of these into church membership.[10]

Throughout the years since then, Wesley has always had groups of foreign students participating in its campus-wide activities. Numbers of Oriental students have been included in lifetime friendships formed on American college campuses. Wesley has been fortunate in having many of this group active in its work.

The Religious Workers at State Universities held their sixth annual conference at Bloomington, Indiana, in February, 1914. Fourteen schools were represented by sixty-six workers of ten denominations. The conference attempted to formulate policies as well as to set up methods of co-operative work. Baker has said that he had no thought that similar work might be done at other institutions. But this conference, probably more than previous ones, gave marked impetus to student work of this character. Among the developments at various institutions, those at North Dakota were outstanding. A Methodist dormitory was in operation,

[10] "Methodism at the Seat of a Great University," *Zion's Herald*, Nov. 26, 1913, pp. 1513-15.

and courses in religion received university credit. So many activities were reported from various institutions that it was impossible to evaluate all the things being done.

In view of the foregoing, the following resolution, presented at the 1914 session of the conference, is significant:

Whereas, There are at the present time thousands out of Methodist homes attending the State supported institutions of the land; and

Whereas, This constitutes a situation at once of grave concern and strategic opportunity to the church, from which we cannot escape in good conscience; and

Whereas, There is urgent need of a comprehensive survey of this field and a resultant consistent policy for entering into our responsibility; be it

Resolved, That it is the sense of the Illinois Conference that this work of surveying the field and developing a policy belongs properly to the general Board of Education; and, be it further

Resolved, That we urge the Board of Education to undertake this work at once, and with it the most active possible co-operation in this work as now maintained in our various State institutions.

James C. Baker,
M. N. English, W. N. Tobie,
A. C. Piersel, R. F. McDaniel.[11]

This proposal for a national survey of the field and the facilities available is probably the first public recognition that religious work at state schools, while essentially local in character, should be considered basically as national in scope, and should be planned for on a national scale. Certainly it is the first such pronouncement from a Methodist body. Subsequently, such a survey was made by Baker.

Meanwhile the efforts to raise $200,000 were not meeting with success. People who came to Urbana found only general plans—big plans, it is true—and an option on some land. There was no guarantee that the plans would be carried out or that they would not be radically changed. The McClain tract had been purchased in June, 1914, and promptly mortgaged for practically its full value. The trustees met in January, 1915, when Bishop McDowell emphasized the "absolute necessity" of pushing the plans to

[11] *Conference Minutes*, 91st Sess., 1914, pp. 98-99.

completion. The executive committee was authorized to offer, in the first building erected, some sort of recognition to churches, as well as to individuals, who made sizable gifts to the Foundation.

One of the earliest of the large gifts was from Miss Orra Chamberlain, a long-time friend of the Baker family. Executive Secretary McCammon was responsible for the $10,000 subscription of Mrs. Fannie Jolly of Grayville, which is commemorated in the social center building by a bronze tablet in one of the rooms. The Methodist Church at Watseka contributed the furnishings for the lounge, known as Watseka Hall. The Rev. M. P. Wilkin, a retired Methodist minister, gave several pieces of property to establish the Wilkin Lecture Fund. Through the operation of this fund, leading ministers have been brought to the Foundation, thus following one of the points in Tobie's program.

In the main, however, it seemed that having some land paid for was necessary to secure gifts for the Foundation. The relation of Wesley Foundation to the Twin Cities became, therefore, a matter of primary concern. If the citizens of the two communities would give the money for the purchase of the McClain, Osborne, and Burrill properties, building plans could be pushed.

Accordingly a banquet was held in Trinity Church on May 7, 1915, with over one hundred and fifty business and professional men as guests. President James and Bishop McDowell explained the goals and functions of the Foundation work, after which Executive Secretary McCammon presented the suggested building program. From this meeting developed the campaigns in the Twin Cities. Urbana led off in January, 1916, with a drive sponsored by the Commercial Club, with C. N. Clark as chairman. Committees from First Church and Trinity assisted, and the goal was triumphantly achieved in fifteen days. A similar campaign was completed in Champaign a few months later under the chairmanship of

F. B. Amsbary. Thus the Twin Cities became partners in the enterprise by contributing $50,000 for the purchase of land.

The office of Director of the Wesley Foundation was created by the board in January, 1916, and Baker was named to the post, while continuing, also, as minister of Trinity Church. Option on the Burrill property was taken and the purchase completed later. Baker proposed that the social center building, to cost perhaps $100,000, should be the first building erected. The executive committee was henceforth named the building committee. One further action taken at this time deserves notice. Baker proposed that it be the sense of the board that the approach to the situation should have a fourfold purpose: first, church; second, social center; third, school of religion and library; and fourth, dormitories.

The relationship of Trinity Church to the Foundation was becoming an open question. The plan finally accepted provided that Trinity should make legal transfer to Wesley Foundation of all properties owned and used for church purposes. The Foundation, in return, bound itself to provide on its premises an acceptable place of worship and a house for the pastor of Trinity Church.

At the October (1916) meeting of the Board, with the Twin City drives successfully completed, a plan to campaign for $250,000 to build and endow the social center building was accepted. Thomas Nicholson had been elected to the bishopric from his secretaryship of the Methodist Board of Education. Having been selected as presiding officer of the Illinois Conference, replacing McDowell, he also followed him as head of the Wesley Foundation Corporation.

The steps in financial planning go upward. Trinity Church was receiving $500 a year from the Board of Home Missions when Baker asked for $600—and got it. No sooner was that done than a house was purchased for $5,000. With the incorporation of Wesley Foundation, a program requiring $200,000 was approved by conference action. Three years

later, with little money coming in, the request was raised to $250,000, this time a bi-conference asking. Two more years of slim income, and all four conferences suddenly approved a campaign of $500,000 for the Foundation.

Just as the first World War began to interfere with these plans, trouble also threatened from another quarter. The centennial of American Methodism was to be celebrated in 1919. Church leaders were seeking ways in which the event might be made an inspiration to increased benevolent giving and the occasion for expansion in both home and foreign mission fields. The Centenary celebration committee finally announced a goal of $80,000,000 to be paid over a five-year period. As soon as definite Centenary plans were announced, late in 1917, a joint (bi-conference) Centenary committee sought to persuade the leaders of the movement that the half-million-dollar program of Wesley Foundation was a logical and worthwhile Centenary project. Thus it was arranged, though the merging of the Foundation and Centenary campaigns was not finally approved by the trustees until December, 1918.

Foundation activities were expanded soon after the Armistice of 1918 by the addition of a field secretary and a director of student work. E. K. Towle, a former pastor of Parks Chapel, filled the former position, and George V. Metzel was appointed to the latter. Eight student classes were held in university classrooms each Sunday morning. Three hundred freshmen affiliated with Trinity Church in six weeks. Average attendance at the Epworth League meetings was over three hundred and fifty. More than a hundred students were needed to carry out the annual student canvass when all new Methodist freshmen were invited to the Foundation.

Meeting on July 1, 1919, the trustees heard the report of financial conditions as follows: property was valued at 60,000, with $44,000 of it unencumbered; Centenary pledges

to the Foundation over $500,000; endowments and miscellaneous items brought the total assets to over $600,000. Mr. John Root, chief designer of the firm of Holabird and Roche, architects, presented detailed plans for the social center building. The board promptly agreed to go ahead with its erection, at a cost not to exceed $225,000. This was done with the understanding that a like amount was to be set aside as an endowment before any further building projects would be undertaken.

At the annual meeting in November of the same year, the president of the board was authorized to sign contracts approved by the building committee, with the basic cost of the building to be $227,000, and the extras, including furnishings, to total $50,000.

The executive committee was directed to complete negotiations with the Board of Home Missions for designation of a chair of Religious Education and Rural Leadership. The arrangement contemplated payment of salary by the Board of Home Missions, but appointment of the instructor by the Foundation. As there were more than five hundred Methodist students enrolled in the College of Agriculture alone, the importance of work in rural leadership can be appreciated.

The question of granting university credit for courses in religion was brought before the University Senate late in 1919. After several sessions, the Senate agreed on certain conditions and standards which were later approved by the board of trustees of the University. A maximum of ten hours in such courses would be accepted toward graduation, but such classes were not open to freshmen. Other conditions were largely safeguards to insure permanence of the work and the proper qualifications for the instructors. Recommendation of these standards was made by Baker.

The cornerstone of Wesley Foundation was laid on April 22, 1920. Bishops Nicholson and McDowell were the honored guests of the day. Dean Eugene Davenport, of the College of

Wesley Foundation, Urbana, Illinois, At the Time of Dedication in 1921

Agriculture, represented the University in the absence of President David Kinley. His address, an interpretation of church work with students, is still regarded as a masterpiece on the relations that should exist between the state university and campus churches.

The building has received the approbation of leading artists and architects. Mr. Root explained the design in these words:

> In designing the Social Center building of the Wesley Foundation, an attempt has been made to catch the elusive spirit of 16th-century Oxford.
>
> St. John's, Oxford (Wesley was an Oxford man), has served as a model for the center portion. The quiet dignity of the garden front of St. John's with its interesting bay windows accented against broad wall surfaces has provided inspiration for the north front on Green Street, while on the south side the St. John's court elevations have afforded ample suggestions for the design of a facade of singular breadth.
>
> The style of the building is late 16th-century Elizabethan, a transitional style of intimate character with Italian detail grafted upon the body of the English mediaeval tradition.
>
> An attempt has been made in the Social Center to capture this inmate homelike character so that the students of the university would feel free to enter without formal invitation.[12]

The exercises in connection with the dedication began on February 11, 1921, with an open house for the students. At this time there were 1,900 students of Methodist preference in a university enrollment of 8,000. Over 600 were affiliated with Trinity[13] and 200 more were in downtown churches. Six courses in religion were offered for credit. The formal dedication came on February 15, with Bishops Nicholson and McDowell and President Kinley of the University as the principal speakers. Thereafter, in the first year of its operation, more than one thousand scheduled meetings were held in the building with a recorded attendance of nearly seventy thousand. When the doors of the Wesley Foundation were opened, the students came.

[12] John Root, "The Social Center Building," *Urbana Courier*, April 20, 1920, p. 20.

[13] One year later 1,115 students were affiliated with Trinity, and 1,469 were enrolled in the Foundation activity.

So, in the spirit of John Wesley, there came to fruitio
the visions of Willard N. Tobie and James C. Baker, who sav
the needs of college students for guidance in religious cultur
and living, and who have dedicated their lives to the fulfill
ment of the ever-unfinished task.

THE ILLINOIS BOOKSHELF

A WOMAN'S STORY OF PIONEER ILLINOIS. By Christiana Holmes Tillson. Chicago, The Lakeside Press, 1919.

A wedding journey from Kingston, Massachusetts, to Montgomery County, Illinois, in 1822, and the ensuing years of pioneer life in Illinois, were vividly recalled by the bride, many years later, in a narrative which she wrote for the information of her youngest daughter. The little volume, entitled *Reminiscences of Early Life in Illinois by Our Mother*, was presumably privately printed in Amherst, Massachusetts, in 1873 by the author's children, for a few members of the family and their friends. Because that book is extremely rare and because the narrative is so interesting and worthy of wide, it was selected by R. R. Donnelley & Sons for their *Lakeside Classic* for 1919. Given a new title, *A Woman's Story of Pioneer Illinois*, and edited by Milo Milton Quaife, this reprint of Christiana Holmes Tillson's book has made available to many more readers a unique story—that of pioneer life in Illinois from the woman's point of view.

Mrs. Tillson was a native of Kingston, Massachusetts, and her husband, John Tillson, was born on a farm near the neighboring village of Halifax. Tillson had made an earlier trip to Illinois in 1819, remaining there until his return to Massachusetts three years later to be married. The first part of the book is an account—told by Mrs. Tillson—of her husband's youth in New England, his reasons for going to Illinois in 1819, and his life there while he was establishing himself as land agent, farmer, county treasurer, and postmaster.

At the close of the War of 1812, Congress had given every soldier a warranty of 160 acres of land located somewhere between the Mississippi and Illinois rivers, and many of these patents were subsequently purchased by land speculators. Dr. Benjamin Shurtleff of Boston—later a benefactor of the college in Alton, Illinois, which was named in his honor—was one such purchaser, and Tillson was employed by him to go to Illinois for the purpose of recording deeds and attending to the surveying of the land.

Soon after he arrived at Edwardsville, Illinois, he got a job as clerk in the recorder's office, and before long he also bought land some forty miles north of the town. When the new county of Montgomery was organized in 1821, Tillson became postmaster of the county—a very desirable

position because "at that time his business was almost entirely do through correspondence, and as every letter from New York or Bost called for a postage of twenty-five cents, and his business was still i creasing, the franking privilege was to him a great consideration."

When Tillson—with two other young men, Hiram Rountree a Joel Wright—moved into a cabin on his newly acquired land, his hou hold was described as " 'Bachelor's Hall,' a small commencement at fir but a nucleus for all the sick, the homesick, newly arrived, and err bachelors generally." However, when Tillson himself became ill, sought another refuge. His wife gives us a vivid description of his att of ague:

> Feeling pretty sure, as the natives termed it, that he was "in fo smart grip of agy," he started at night and rode to Rev. Mr. Townsenc seven miles towards Edwardsville, where he stayed to have anot shake. The next being the intermediate day, he rode to Mr. Hoxi twenty-five miles farther, and waited over there for another shake, wh Mrs. Hoxie said "beat all the shakes she ever saw; he shuck the h cabin."

In April, 1822, Tillson returned to Massachusetts, making the l trip on horseback. After his marriage there, he and his wife started Illinois, on October 6, in a specially built carriage. They were acc panied by Tillson's brother, Robert, and—much to the relief of the bri mother who wanted her daughter to have a "lady companion"—a M Cushman who went as far as Cincinnati with them.

They followed the coastline to New York City, going from there Philadelphia and thence to Cumberland, Maryland. From that point Wheeling, West Virginia, they traveled on the National Road. Since construction had not then been carried beyond that place, the roads t encountered after leaving Wheeling—alternately "corduroy" and swan bottomland—were almost impassable in many places. On arrival in C cinnati, they learned that recent rains had made many Indiana stre unfordable for a carriage, so Robert Tillson proceeded on horseback w Mr. and Mrs. John Tillson, with the carriage and baggage, took pass on a boat to Louisville. When they reached that city, the prospect carriage travel ahead appeared no better so the bride and groom contin by boat to Shawneetown, where they waited for Robert. He arrived s days later and the party once more set out in their carriage.

It is clear from Mrs. Tillson's story that her wedding trip was ha the happy occasion it might have been, not only because of the hardsh endured on the road but also due to the rude accommodations afforde the rough frontier stopping-places. For a timid, refined New Engl

man, it was a very difficult trip, but she made the best of the vicissi-
es en route and hoped for better things in Illinois.

Her first impression of the famous Illinois prairies—described so
wingly by many early writers—was not a favorable one. She wrote:

> Your father had talked so much about their beauty that I expected
> eel a kind of enchantment. He said, "You never saw anything like
> before." I said "no;" but did not say I never saw anything more dis-
> ; and to those who have seen western prairies after the autumnal fires
> e passed over, leaving them in all their blackness, with an occasional
> p of coarse grass or a scrubby bush, it will be needless to describe, and
> ink hard to gather beauties from it.

When the Tillson party arrived at the log cabin which John Tillson
occupied before his marriage, they found that the addition which he
ordered built was not completed. But after spending about a month
ing with neighbors and visiting in St. Louis, they set up housekeeping
January 3, 1823. Numerous makeshifts were necessary because Mrs.
son's box of household goods and winter clothing, which had been
ped from Massachusetts, did not arrive until March. The carpenter,
ering away at his work on the new kitchen and frequently stopping
work for others, had to live with the family. By the time the kitchen
completed, the Tillsons decided to add a parlor and bedroom, so he
ained a member of the household while he did that work. In addition,
. Tillson had to make room in the little cabin for two men who did
labor, and a Baptist minister who worked at the carpenter's trade.
n these men left, others came—old friends and acquaintances of Till-
s bachelor days, bricklayers making brick on the premises for the
ney, visiting lawyers and judges—making perhaps a daily average
x men.

Among Mrs. Tillson's recollections is included an account of the
ch services she attended with her husband on the first Sunday they
t in Montgomery County:

> Sunday morning, December 2, was cold and pinching; winter had
> menced in earnest. We rode about two miles to a log cabin which,
> g week days, was the schoolhouse of the village or settlement school-
> er, and Sundays was open to the "circuit rider,"—Methodist
> cher,—who came around "onst" a month, and to the "Cumber-
> s,"—Cumberland Presbyterians,—who occasionally preached there;
> to the "Hard-shells," and to the "Seventh-day" Baptists—all were
> ated. When we arrived the service had just commenced; a movement
> made to give Harriet and myself a seat by the fire, while your father
> d himself on one of the schoolhouse benches that stood against the
> . The preacher, big and burly, was about starting the hymn, which
> done by reading the first two lines of the verse, and then with an

indescribable nasal twang, singing to the tune of "Old Grimes," t
lines that had been repeated. This was a favorite among them:

"When I can read my titul clare,
Tue mansheons in the skei,
I'll bid farewell to everie fear,
And wipe my weeping ye, yi, yi,
and wipe" &c.

Around the fire sat the mothers with babies, while the "your
'uns" huddled down on the floor beside them. In the circle where
were put there seemed to be a mixture of all ages, though of but one s
the lords of creation with their big boys occupying the back seats. Af
the sermon—if so it may be called—the preacher sang another "hym
the congregation chiming in. It was then announced that after a f
minutes' recess another brother would speak; then commenced the p
formance. The "young'uns" rushed to the fire with sticks or pieces
clapboard and rolled out the eggs they had brought for a lunch and h
deposited in the ashes to roast while the first preacher was speaki
Each youngster worked manfully to secure his own rights, and show
dispatch of business in getting them peeled and disposed of before t
preaching was resumed. The good mammas who had babies, and w
did not wait for recess, but had been giving them their lunch during
service, now lit their pipes and looked so happy and satisfied as the clo
of smoke curled out from under their sunbonnets, meanwhile the ster
sex paying suit to the water bucket which stood in the back corner
the room; that performance was rather slow, there being but one go
shell for the whole congregation, so each man would walk up to
bucket and while another was drinking would relieve his mouth o
heavy quid, holding it in one hand, would take the gourd of water, ri
his mouth, spitting the washing on the floor, then take his drink, a
while passing the gourd to the next would throw his "bacca" in
mouth and be ready for a chat.

The preaching had commenced at ten A.M., and it was not u
between four and five o'clock that we were released from the rant. I
never before heard but one Methodist preach, and that was Father Tayl
in the early part of his ministry. He in New England was in those d
considered a "ranter," but if his preaching was rant, surely our west
Methodism was ranting outranted.

Though very religious people and normally faithful churchgo
the Tillsons soon decided that there was little inspiration to be gai
from such services. But their decision to stay home on Sundays, sometim
by preference, sometimes because there was no "preaching," brou
them unhappy experiences with another Illinois custom—that of "S
day visiting:"

By the time our breakfast was over and our morning work dispo
of there would be a tremendous knocking at the door, accompanied
sonorous demands of "who keeps the house?" Sometimes with the kn

g would come, "housekeepers within?" and when the door was opened backwoodsman would walk in with a big baby on his arm, followed by s wife with the youngest in both her arms, would introduce his lady, id let us know they had come for a day's visit; thinking I was "strange ies 'ere," they reckoned they ought to get acquainted. . . .

I think during the first three months there was rarely a Sunday when e were not called on to entertain some of these families, who came as if a show, and would go about the house taking up things and ask, vhart's this 'ere fixin?" open the closet and ask how we sold plates. hen informed they were not for sale, could not see why we "wanted ch a mighty lot," "never seed so many together, reckoned they cost heap." The most amusing thing would be their remarks at the table, d their petting the children before coming to the table. "Hush up, ney, and be good; see thar, Auntee Tillson is gwine to have dinner ght sure. Reckon she'll have some sweetened bread, cake, and all them etty dishes." When they had satisfied their appetites and taken a final ioke they would make a move to depart, and invite us to go and spend nday with them. We would thank them, and say we would go to see em some week day, we did not visit on the Sabbath. We felt we were ry fortunate in breaking up the practice without offending them. Of our Sunday visitors, I think but one ever repeated the visit on that y, and though they were very jealous and suspicious I never knew of y offense being given.

Tillson was constantly expanding his business interests. In the sum- r of 1824 he opened a store in a part of the little cabin. In the following nter, after Hillsboro was made the seat of Montgomery County, he and ; wife decided to move to town and they started construction on their w home there. The first brick house ever built in Montgomery County, was originally planned as a one-story cottage, containing an office, re, post office, and family living quarters. But because Tillson advanced ney to the bricklayer—to pay his debts—in an amount to exceed the st of the one-story house, it was decided to change the plans and erect wo-story building. Mrs. Tillson, always careful not to give the im- ssion of being proud, wrote:

The thing seemed so formidable that it was quite an alarm. A two- ry brick house among the log cabins, it would never do. What would natives say? And how should I feel to have the care of such a mansion? t the thing was decided upon and your father seemed wonderfully ased.

On several occasions, she referred to the prejudice against Yankees ich she found in Illinois. The tactful patience she employed in dealing th her neighbors is displayed in several passages similar to the one ted below:

Jesse Buzan—who rented our bottom-field—had a wife whose great oyment seemed to consist in coming every day to inspect. She was

taken quite by surprise when one day I offered her a piece of what I to her was Yankee pie. She looked blank and said, "I didn't think yo would say the like of that; I allus knowed youens were all Yankees, b Billy said 'don't let on that we know it, kase it'll jest make them mad.' I told her I was proud to be called a Yankee, and that she need never fe to speak of it. She looked incredulous, and then said, "Billy and I ha always found you jess so, but some folks say they have been here wh Yankees come in, and you talk a heap of things that you don't say to us "Do they say I talk against anyone?" "O no, not that; but you use a he of words to Yankees that you don't when you talk to us. They say, to you put a lot of nasty truck in your bread. It is what you keep in a bottl purlass, I believe, is the name, and they say it is full of dead flies, a bugs, and cricket legs." I brought forward my little bottle of dissolv pearl ash, looking so clear and pure, and showed it to her, but it seem hard to give up her old prejudice.

Tillson became a man of importance in Illinois. In addition to bei the first merchant and first postmaster of Hillsboro, he was also promine in various other enterprises, especially in educational and religious affai He was influential in the founding of Hillsboro Academy and donated co siderable money to it, and he served on the board of trustees of Illin College from its founding until he died. He was also one of the state fu commissioners for building railroads in Illinois. His extensive real est transactions brought him splendid financial success, but he lost heav in the panic of 1827 and soon thereafter removed from Montgome County. He died in Peoria in 1853.

John and Christiana Tillson were the parents of several childr Among them was Charles Holmes Tillson, born on September 15, 18 He was graduated from Illinois College in 1844 and later practiced law St. Louis. He died in 1865. John Tillson, Jr., two years younger th Charles, practiced law in Quincy and Galena, was breveted brigadier g eral in the Civil War, became a member of the Illinois General Assemb and was a collector of internal revenue in the Quincy district. He died 1892.

Robert Tillson, brother of John, who accompanied the John Tills from Massachusetts to Illinois, opened the first general store in Quir and later invested in real estate holdings which brought him considera wealth.

In 1827, after four and a half years in Illinois, John and Christia Tillson and their children returned to Massachusetts to spend the summ This journey consumed only about a month's time, in contrast to se and a half weeks spent in going to Illinois. Mrs. Tillson's account e with a brief report on this trip. The last few pages of the book w written only a few months before the author's death, which occurred New York City on May 29, 1872.

THE HOME OF NICHOLAS JARROT AT CAHOKIA, ILLINOIS, CONSTRUCTED ABOUT 1800.

The above photograph was taken in the nineties after several alterations had been made.

HISTORICAL NOTE

OLIVER PARKS RESTORES THE JARROT MANSION AT CAHOKIA

The beautiful old brick home built by Nicholas Jarrot at Cahokia, Illinois, a century and a half ago, has recently been acquired by Mr. Oliver Lafayette Parks, president of Parks Air College. Mr. Parks purchased the house, together with some one hundred acres of land adjoining the Parks Air College, from some of Jarrot's heirs. In the future this old mansion—one of the most historic homes in the Mississippi Valley—will serve as residence and guest house for its owner, and the spacious grounds will be available for expansion of the College.

The Jarrot home, which was constructed about 1800, has always been known throughout the American Bottom as the Mansion House. In its long history many changes have been made on the exterior of the house, yet it stands today substantially as it was originally built. It was occupied by members of the Jarrot family for almost a hundred years, but recently it had been put to various uses and was badly neglected. Recognizing that the old mansion had been a fine home, Mr. Parks called in architects to advise him on its restoration. The firm of Study, Farrar & Majers, working in conjunction with Messrs. Hoener & Hubbard, architects of St. Louis, Mo., directed the work.

Nicholas Jarrot, original owner of the mansion, was born in France.[1] He came to America about 1775. He first settled in Baltimore, but finally made his way to the French settlements in the American Bottom and became a resident of Kaskaskia. About 1795 he moved to Cahokia, bringing with him his beautiful and wealthy wife, a member of the Beauvais family of Ste. Genevieve, Missouri, and almost immediately began the construction of a large brick home. Jarrot was a very successful merchant, and, in course of time, he became immensely wealthy as a landowner, eventually acquiring some 25,000 acres of rich farming land in the American Bottom.

Faithful to the tradition of the old French, Nicholas Jarrot was a devoutly religious man. When he built his mansion he chose a location close to the church building of the ancient Holy Family Parish which had

[1] For a biography of Nicholas Jarrot and an account of family life at the "Mansion House," see Margaret E. Babb, "The Mansion House of Cahokia and its Builder—Nicholas Jarrot," *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society . . . 1924* (Springfield, 1924), 78-93.

been established in 1699; the lawn and graveyard of the church were almost a part of the grounds of the old mansion. Today the graves of Nicholas Jarrot and his wife may still be seen at the side of the old church building.

His farms included the Cahokia Mounds where, on the Great Mound in 1815, he gave permission to the Trappist Monks to build their monastery. He also gave them several hundred acres of the surrounding fields.

The Jarrot family, like all the leading French families in the American Bottom in the early nineteenth century, owned a number of slaves. Those used as domestic servants were quartered in the basement of the mansion, where four fireplaces which they used may be seen today. During the New Madrid earthquake in 1812, the vibrations of which were felt throughout the American Bottom, a large crack appeared in the rear wall of the old mansion. Although patched up, this crack is still clearly visible. Both the exterior and the interior walls of the mansion are built of brick sixteen inches thick. The framing used for the floors and roof is of heavy walnut timbers doweled and tendoned together with oak pegs, testifying to the sturdy type of construction in common use a century and a half ago. In 1800 there were neither planing mills nor brick kilns in Illinois. All brick for the mansion was made by hand from clay dug out of the adjacent fields. The window and door frames and other pieces of millwork were made by hand planes from walnut timbers which had been cut in the neighboring forest.

Restoration work on the Jarrot mansion was complicated due to the many alterations which had been made since the house was constructed. About a hundred years ago, the original shingle roof and the colonial cornices were changed to a red Spanish tile roof with projecting eaves and cornices. In 1944 these eaves and cornices were replaced with colonial details and the Spanish tile gave way to Williamsburg shingle tile. About 1840 the beautiful colonial front door frame had been covered by a frame of Greek colonial design. As this 1840 frame was falling to pieces in 1944, the architects ordered it removed and, while this was being done, they discovered the original frame beneath. Because the old frame was in such bad condition that it could not be used, it was removed and placed in the attic for safekeeping and a new one, an exact duplicate, was put in its place.

The present porch is, in all probability, a fair replica of the old porch—if there was one. However, it is not definitely established that the house originally had one. Old letters, supposed to have been written in the early 1820's, are said to describe family gatherings "on the front porch," but the architects were unable to locate these letters. The exist-

The Jarrot Home As It Appeared
After Restoration of the
Exterior Was Completed in 1944

ence of a porch on the original design therefore remains a matter of conjecture. In a photograph made some time during the 1840's or 1850's, the mansion is shown with a porch of semi-Greek colonial design in which much jigsawed millwork was used. As this was out of keeping with the early colonial architecture of the building, one may be reasonably sure that it did not belong to the original house. In the course of time, this 1840-1850 porch fell into decay and probably some fifty years ago was replaced by a handsomely designed porch with Corinthian columns. As this latter porch conformed to the original architecture of the house and blended with the whole design, the architects advised its retention and restoration.

One of the histories of St. Clair County states that the Jarrot house originally had a foundation of walnut logs standing on end and that the footings below were of wood resting on a bed of cinders. However, a photograph of the house, probably taken about 1850, shows a stone foundation—the one on which the house now stands. If the house originally had a foundation of logs, this photograph proves that within about fifty years these logs must have rotted and been replaced by stone. However, it does not seem reasonable that solid timbers, if they existed, would have rotted within such a short period. Moreover, when certain changes were made in the basement in 1944, excavation below the foundation walls was made in several places and no wooden footing was found. It therefore seems unlikely that this statement regarding the original foundation is correct.

Considerable work is necessary on the interior of the historic old "Mansion House" before its restoration will be complete, but this will probably have to be postponed until after the war. Plans for a colonial garden on the spacious grounds surrounding the house have also been made. When all these improvements have been completed, Mr. Parks's home will be one of the oldest and finest examples of colonial architecture still standing in this part of the country.

GUY STUDY.

ST. LOUIS, MO.

THE ILLINOIS SCRAPBOOK

ADVICE TO A SON—NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN

One . . . incident I think is worth relating, as showing the sentiments entertained by old and honest, intelligent and patriotic men. Doctor David Rutter, of Chicago, my wife's father, a native of Pennsylvania, but since 1848 a resident of Chicago—an old-line whig in politics, retired from practice of his profession, but alive and active in all the political phases of his country, and ripe in years, being in his sixty-first year of age—wrote to me on May 30th as follows:

CHICAGO, May 30, 1861.

Captain P. T. Turnley, U.S.A.
Annapolis, Md.
MY DEAR CAPTAIN:

I have learned that you have been placed on duty at Annapolis, and I hope you are pleased with the service. Mary has joined you before this, and I hope she will make it all the more pleasant for you at that place. We kept the children with us, because we thought it best.

Now, Captain, I do hope that the fact of your being a Tennesseean will not influence you in fixing your position in the dreadful troubles now beginning. I beg you will stick to the government as the only hope for safety. I know you have a father, kinsfolk and friends in the South, but you also have wife and children and friends in the North, therefore, I pray you will hold on to the government, and so long as you do any duty, it will be on the side of the government.

Sincerely,
D. RUTTER

The above was received with other mail matter June 1, 1861, at my office at the Naval School, Annapolis, Maryland. . . . On June 6 I received another letter. It was from my old father, near Dandridge, Jefferson county, Tennessee, then in his seventieth year. The letter above given, as I have stated, was from my wife's father, Dr. David Rutter, in Chicago, and the one below (received six days afterward), from my own father, is as follows:

DANDRIDGE, May 31, 1861.

Captain P. T. Turnley, U.S.A.
Annapolis, Md.

MY DEAR SON:

I received your brief note of 20th inst., telling me where to direct a letter, and I avail myself of the information. I note what you say of the excitement in the North, etc., but I am more concerned about my own section of the country, and our people in East Tennessee. Secession is a fixed fact; although it was not my method of proceeding, still, like the declaration of July, 1776, against England, it has been issued, and must now be sustained, or else we of the South will fare ten times worse than our colonial people would have fared, had our ancestors failed in securing their independence from England. The South and North were then united in fighting a foe 3,000 miles off. *Now*, the *then united* are *disunited*, and every indication is that war is imminent, as you stated would occur when you were here. If the Northern people persist in coercing the South, it is plain that the North repudiates the requirements of the United States constitution, and the very basis on which the Declaration of Independence was founded. To preserve the union, as they assert, is a mere cloak and subterfuge. Union of all the States is, of course, *desirable*, under equal and fair justice to each and all the States alike, but not otherwise. Negro slavery is no worse, but in fact more humane now than it was in 1776. A forced union is the very opposite of that liberty the colonists fought England to achieve, and if the Northern States now begin war, to force the unwilling States of the South to continue in a government, which the North itself has been the first to decry and condemn as a "League with the Devil and a covenant with Hell," then, indeed, has the Northern people been hypocrites and liars from the beginning, and the sooner our Southern States separate themselves from the Europeanized North, the better. You predicted a war when you visited me last January, in your speech in Dandridge. Surely it seems to me, that you of all men, ought now to be most assured of his duty to his native home and friends, for, if war is to be our portion, then it will very soon be impossible for a Southern-born man of honesty and patriotism to be welcome or trusted in the North, no more than a Northern-born man can be trusted or relied on in the South. With an honest man, worthy of his ancestors, love of home and fireside must and will direct his course; but for men not honest, who seek for power and fame, such will be found where the price is paid. I say to you, my son, leave the federal service, and either come and be one of Tennessee's defenders, or else retire from both sides and pursue your private business. This is my heart-felt desire, and I shall hope soon to receive a letter from you telling me such is your course.

Affectionately, your father,
JOHN C. TURNLEY.

The foregoing letters, one from father, the other from father-in-law need little comment from me. The writers typify the spirit and leanings of the divided people of the United States at that period without passion or prejudice. Each was sincere in his opinions, one striving to induce me

to go south, the other to remain with the United States army north. The bloody conflict which followed, ceasing for the time in 1865, but possibly not ended, was the materialized divergent sentiments of those two aged citizens. Each of them to the manor born in their respective States, both were imbued with the sentiment that duty and patriotism pointed each to his own camp, to defend his fireside, family and State.

P. T. TURNLEY, *Reminiscences*, 326-29.

A SCHOOL TEACHER'S DILEMMA

Soon after the new school law came into force, in 1855, one of the provisions of which was that a teacher should not only have a certificate of good moral character, but that he must obtain from the School Commissioner license, in which the said officer certified that the would-be pedagogue was qualified to teach specified common branches—a certain young man, aspiring to pedagogic honors, went from this township down to Paris to obtain that very necessary instrument, the certificate; but, much to his chagrin, failed to pass muster and was rejected. With sorrowing steps he returned to his school, which, by the way, he had already opened, and for a few days revolved in his mind the best course to pursue under the embarrassing circumstances. He was almost on the point of giving up his school, and thus proclaiming to the neighborhood his lack of ability, when he was struck by a happy thought. He would call in one of the Directors, who, by the way, was a man of good sense, but somewhat rough in manners and appearance. The young man would have the Director see the school, and certify, from a personal inspection, to the Commissioner, the teacher's ability to conduct a common school. Accordingly, the lessons were "fixed up," as many teachers too early learn to prepare for an occasion, and the school was in readiness for the dignitary's approval and recommendation. The morning came, and with it the Director. He took his seat, and began his inventory, as the teacher began the exercises of the day. They had but just begun to be favorably impressed with each other, when, pop! a report like that of a pistol resounded through the room, and at the same moment a ball of tow, as large as an ounce musket-ball and almost as hard, bounced from the bald pate of the Director. Of course, nobody knew from whence the volley came (nobody ever does know anything of the origin of such offenses); but the impression made on the mind of the dignitary was exceedingly bad. A great outburst followed this mishap; but order was finally restored, and the duties of the schoolroom proceeded. The little episode was nearly forgotten,

when another charge, from another quarter, and of a different character, took effect in the teacher's eye. It had been observed that the School Director's son had been for the last quarter of an hour industriously chewing, as a cow chews her cud, a large wad of paper; and, after the professor received the charge of pulp, his other eye noticed that the youngster had ceased his ruminating, and, for the first time in a week, was intently studying his elementary spelling-book, though he also noticed that the book was upside down. Of course, as he was the Director's son, it would not do to investigate, and the master complacently raked the pulp out of his eye, and tried to proceed in his efforts to impress his visitor. At this point, the official, quite disgusted, arose to go; but the young man detained him, and unfolded to him his wish for a recommendation for a certificate to the Commissioner. The Director, at first, protested stoutly; but finally the persuasions of the young man prevailed, and he consented to recommend him, provided he could put it in his own phraseology. He then took a pen, wrote, sealed and delivered to the young man the following certificate:

"To the School Commissioner of Edgar County: This certifies that the bearer is competent to teach a common school in Carroll Township and nowhere else, and a d—d common one at that."

History of Edgar County, Illinois (Chicago, 1879), 443-44.

ADVANTAGES OF PICKET DUTY IN 1861

After returning from Fredericktown our regiment [the 33rd Illinois] remained in Camp Hovey until the middle of November [1861] and then took up winter quarters, in which we remained until the first day of March. . . .

In these days standing picket was considered a desirable and pleasant, instead of being a tiresome and unpleasant duty. Among the mountains that surrounded us it was found necessary to have picket guards posted only upon the few different roads that led out into the country. A picket guard is that which is sent to the farthest outpost to give the alarm in case of the approach of the enemy. The high mountains around us rendered all directions of approach, except the roads through the valleys, impracticable. The necessity for picket duty was limited. A guard was sent out upon each road to perform this duty, remaining out a week at a time. The reason was discovered why the boys were partial to this kind of duty.

A Missourian was chided for charging such exorbitant prices for his produce. "Wall," said he, " 'pears like you oughten to complain, seeing

as we have to pay such big taxes." As all civil government was completely disorganized in this part of the country and no one in office or authority to collect taxes or do anything else, this reply was a surprise. "Taxes, what kind of taxes do you pay?" "Why, every time we come in we have to give your soldiers out on the road, part of our chickens, butter and apples for taxes." As he did not have any other taxes to pay, this burden, waiving the mode of its collection, was not a very heavy one.

One day a practical joke of this kind was carried almost beyond pardonable limits. A countryman from the backwoods was coming in with a wagon box full of apples. As he was ascending a steep hill near the picket guard, a mischievous trick was played upon him. The rear end-board of his wagon fell out, *accidentally, of course*, and the whole load of apples came pouring down to the foot of the hill. The man came back and commenced securing his load. At this moment one of the boys claimed his attention, and in an earnest, solemn manner took a piece of writing paper from his pocket and proceeded to read a supposed order, stating that all property of whatever kind falling from a wagon to the ground within the army lines should be forfeited to the Government. The man could not read a word and supposed that what he had heard was actually true. He then sorrowfully started homewards to muse by the way upon the beauty of a decisive Government and cogitate upon the profit of attempting to drive a load of loose apples up a steep hill with a loose end-board in his wagon box.

Before going he promised to return soon. The boys set to work and saved the apples. In a few days the same man, ignorant and good-natured, returned with another load of produce. After he had treated the boys to some of his new load of apples they produced and gave him a lot of coffee, sugar, etc., for which they had traded the apples he had lost on the former occasion. They had run a temporary store with his load of apples and had lots of fun. He was greatly surprised and went his way the happiest man in Missouri.

ALBERT O. MARSHALL, *Army Life; from a Soldier's Journal* (1884), 48, 61-63.

ALTON A CENTURY AGO

The opening of the following spring found me domiciliated for a time with one of the pleasantest families in the beautiful city of Alton. I say beautiful, because it was never otherwise to me. When I first reached it from the north, where winter was still protracting his reign, the foliage

spring was just bursting its brief bounds. The days were bright and nny, and such were welcome after my tedious pilgrimages in the more gorous north.

The position of Alton is one of much beauty. It stands at one of the ost charming points on the upper Mississippi; having its clear, dark aters broken by two beautiful, wooded islands near the opposite shore, d commanding from the bluffs a fine view of the junction of the Mis- uri with the former stream. Immediately above the city, terminates a ıe of limestone bluffs, bold and towering, which wall in the Mississippi r near fifty miles. Immediately below, commences the celebrated "Amer- ın bottom," which extends almost unbroken to the mouth of the Ohio. ıe town is divided into upper, middle, and lower Alton. The last-named s along the water-side, and is the principal place of business. Middle)wn extends back on the heights, and contains some very picturesque d beautiful spots; and Upper Town still farther back, and down the er, has some points that, transferred to canvas, would bear comparison th the boasted scenery of the old world.

A considerable proportion of the houses in these three divisions are ilt of stone; the great abundance of it on the river rendering it as cheap any other material. The grounds are sufficiently old to be ornamented th well-grown trees, shrubberies, &c.; and in the season when the ights and broken swells are covered with verdure, few more beautiful)ts are to be found in the country. In the immediate vicinity of Lower d Middle Town, indeed within their yet unsettled precincts, there is :at variety of scenery. High, rolling ridges, divided by deep valleys or ınd basins, as perfect in finish as if constructed by rules of art, diversify : whole surface. The heights are for the most part covered with the zel, low shrub oak, and forest trees. The level grounds between, are d with a smooth green turf, set during the spring and summer with a :at variety of wild flowers. In the vicinity of the town are many beauti- groves and tracts of barrens; and farther back, are small prairies, ided and bordered by clumps of trees and clean open woodlands.

Many a charming ride and walk had we through these natural parks, ıen they were in their perfection of beauty. When the early showers re over, and the clouds had passed away, we used to ramble into the)ves or barrens and return after an hour or two with great clusters of : phlox, painted cap, moccasin flower and geranium, bright and fresh m their pleasant homes by stream and tree, to adorn and perfume ours. ıile we were gathering them, the quail was running to and fro on the an turf, and whistling to the merry breeze; the robin was singing in tree top, and the brown thrasher performing his seriocomic solo, a

little farther off on the lower branches. The winds ran wild among t trees, shaking their long arms and making their lengthening shado dance upon the bright sward with a gay motion; as if the very genius mirth were disporting itself in the universal jubilee.

ELIZA W. FARNHAM, *Life in Prairie Land* (1847), 373-74.

FURLOUGH IN 1864

Corraling our horses and mules and leaving them in charge of t non-veterans, the regiment on the 8th of January, with drums beatin colors flying, and hopes beating high, march from Pulaski, Tennesse Arriving at Columbia we take the cars for Nashville, where we rema in the Soldier's Home until transportation is furnished. Transportati being furnished we proceed by rail to Louisville, Kentucky, where remain until we receive our pay and bounty—after which we cross t Ohio and take the cars for Springfield, Illinois.

January 15th.—The train carrying the Seventh is now near Sprin field; soon we expect to meet a grateful people, who have already be informed of the hour of our arrival. The train moves slowly across Sa gamon river, and as it emerges from the timber and approaches the ci we hear the cannon's roar. The echoes roll across the prairie, telling to that the great loyal heart of Illinois still beats true for liberty and defenders. The train moves into the Great Western depot, and a vast crow is now moving toward us. The patriot fathers are here; mothers, siste and lovers, with anxious throbbing hearts whose pulses have ever beat true for Union and liberty, come like a beautiful sun-tinted wave again the Seventh. Tears fall like dew drops for the loved and lost, who co not back, but when the returning comrade says to that sister or th maiden, "your Willie fought bravely on Shiloh's field, until liberty in h trying hours claimed him upon her hallowed altar," their faces sparkl with holy light and they reply: "How proud I am to know that th were thus brave soldiers in the war for republican nationality." Oh! h noble these loyal hearts that open so wide for the boys in blue. The re ment sways back the crowd and forms in line. Wheeling into compa column, Colonel Rowett commences to move through the city; a grate people continues to follow the regiment wherever they march; the m move firmly—their steps are even. Some one says "they are proud," a another replies, "and well may they be; for the record they have ma in this crusade for freedom is enough to create within them a feeling pride." After marching through some of the principal streets of the ci the colonel leads the regiment into the State House yard, where he for

he regiment in divisions and closes in mass. Our old Colonel, now Brigdier General, John Cook, commanding the military at Springfield, apears at one of the windows, and with his loud and familiar voice says: Colonel Rowett, by the direction of Governor Yates, you will proceed ith your regiment into the Representatives Chamber." The hall is now ensely crowded with the Illinois Seventh and her loyal men and women. overnor Yates now comes forward and in behalf of the loyal people of linois he says: "Welcome!Welcome, Seventh! to your homes and friends. he heart of this great commonwealth goes out in love for you, starting ars to the memory of those of your number whom you have left in the nny south. Again I say in behalf of the loyal people, welcome, welcome venth." His big heart being so full he could say no more, and was comlled to sit down. Brigadier General Cook now comes forward, carrying his arm the Seventh's old Donelson and Shiloh banner, and as he unrled it in that chamber, those men who stood around it amid tempest d smoke, like a pillar of steel and fire, seemed to move towards it with l their hearts, for men never appeared to love a flag more; they loved it cause of its associations, for when they gazed upon its shot-torn folds ey remembered the eventful past, remembered the terrible battle flames rough which it had been carried, remembered the loyal soldiers whose arts ceased their pulsations beneath its shadow. General Cook comences to speak, and for one hour holds the vast audience spell-bound by s eloquence. He pays a touching tribute to the regiment's fallen, and we re say a more beautiful tribute was never uttered in this chamber than is tribute delivered by General Cook. He spoke to the loyal heart, and it emed that every word as fast as uttered entered there, for when he osed few eyes were dry in that vast audience. After a few apt and appropiate remarks by Colonel Rowett and Major Estabrook the audience perses. The hotels are thrown open and the loyal people invite the giment to throw themselves upon their hospitality during their stay the city. Having free access, a portion of the regiment remains during e night in Representatives Hall.

Remaining in Springfield until the furloughs are issued the different mpanies on the 19th day of January, leave for their homes.

D. LEIB AMBROSE, *History of the Seventh Regiment Illinois Volunteer Infantry* (1868), 221-24.

COUNTERFEITING ON THE FRONTIER

While I was passing through a point of wood running into one of Prairies [near Albion], two racoons [*sic*], who had come out to enjoy

the fine weather, ran up a small tree, so near me, that had I been inclin
I could easily have killed them both. These animals are very numero
and their fine and soft skins are worth about 20 cents (10 *d.*) each.

I was much amused by a story told me about these skins. "Mo
was at one time so scarce in Indiana, that racoon skins passed curre
being handed from one person to another. But some Yankees (New E
landers) forged these notes, by sewing a racoon's tail to a cat's skin, a
thus destroyed the currency." This, like many other good stories ab
the Yankees, is no doubt a fiction; and was only intended to perpetu
the dislike of the New Englanders, who nevertheless excel all the settl
in industry, education, civility, and morality.

WILLIAM N. BLANE, *An Excursion Through the Unite*
States and Canada (London, 1824), 175-76

NEWS AND COMMENT

In the June issue of this *Journal*, a brief announcement of the resigna-
n of Paul M. Angle from his positions with the Illinois State Historical
rary and the Illinois State Historical Society was made. On July 1, Mr.
gle became the Director of the Chicago Historical Society.

The termination of Mr. Angle's splendid services to these organiza-
ns calls for more than passing mention. A native of Mansfield, Ohio,
received his education at Oberlin College, Oberlin, and Miami Uni-
sity, Oxford, where he was graduated with an A.B. degree in 1922.
received an M.A. degree at the University of Illinois in 1924, and in
ent years was awarded Litt.D. and LL.D. degrees from Augustana and
ox colleges, respectively.

Mr. Angle moved to Springfield, Illinois, in 1925 to become the
cutive Secretary of the Lincoln Centennial Association, now known
the Abraham Lincoln Association. In 1932 he resigned that position
become Librarian (later Historian) in the Illinois State Historical Li-
ry, and Secretary-Treasurer of the Illinois State Historical Society and
tor of its publications.

Under his direction the Library's collection of books and pamphlets
grown from 56,000 to 80,000 and the number of manuscripts and news-
ers has doubled. The Library now has one of the most outstanding
coln collections in the nation. Noteworthy benefactions received in
ent years include the Lincoln collection of the late Gov. Henry Horner,
Civil War library of Alfred W. Stern, of Chicago, and the original
nuscript of Lincoln's Gettysburg address donated by the school chil-
n of the state of Illinois assisted by Marshall Field III, of Chicago. In
ition the Library's genealogical and Illinois history departments have
n greatly strengthened during Mr. Angle's administration.

His services to the Illinois State Historical Society during the same
od have been equally noteworthy. The total number of members in
organization has been increased by several hundred, and the Society
become generally recognized as one of the leading state historical
ncies in the country. Mr. Angle has also assisted various county and
onal groups of the state to organize historical societies. His experience
advice have saved several such organizations from extinction. His
l-chosen words of encouragement have rejuvenated others. His wide

acquaintance, his knowledge of both local and state history, and his e
thusiasm for the subject have helped save many items of historical intere
which might otherwise have been lost.

Besides carrying on his work for the Illinois State Historical Libra
and the Illinois State Historical Society, Mr. Angle has also edited t
Quarterly of the Abraham Lincoln Association since it was started in 19

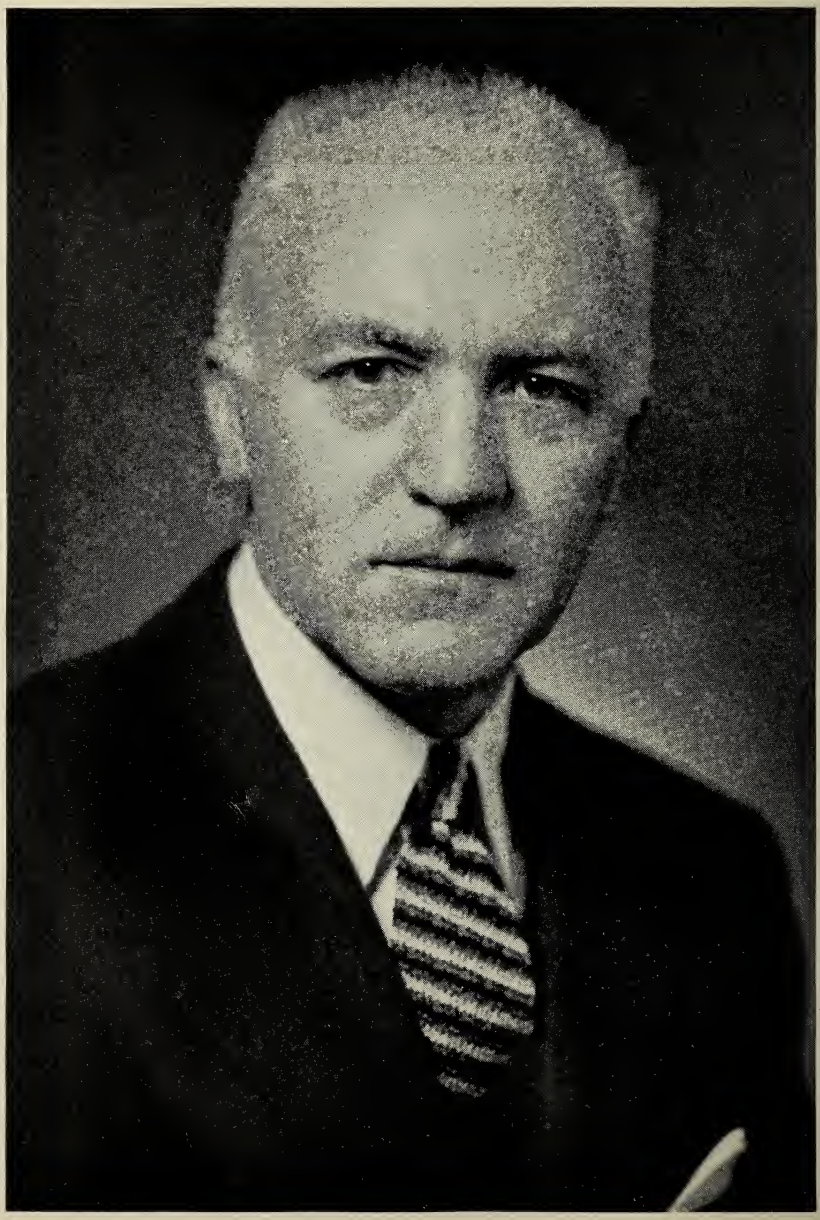
As an author in the fields of Lincolniana and Illinois history, P
M. Angle is widely known. He has written *"Here I Have Lived:" A Hist
of Lincoln's Springfield, Mary Lincoln—Wife and Widow* (with Carl Sandbu
as coauthor), and several volumes of the *Lincoln Day-by-Day* series.
also compiled *New Letters and Papers of Lincoln*. With Richard L. Beyer,
wrote *A Handbook of Illinois History* which was published by the Illin
State Historical Society in 1943. In addition, Mr. Angle is the author
numerous articles and pamphlets.

The congratulations and best wishes of everyone associated wi
Mr. Angle in the Illinois State Historical Society and the Illinois St
Historical Library go with him to his new position. His friendly a
scholarly advice, so frequently called upon in Springfield, will be grea
missed.

The Abraham Lincoln Association imprint on a book is like "st
ling" on silver. William E. Baringer's *A House Dividing: Lincoln as Pr
dent Elect*[1] maintains this high standard of scholarship. The narrative
gins on November 6, 1860, and ends on March 4, 1861. In those f
months Abraham Lincoln laid the foundation of his administration.
Baringer traces in detail the President Elect's problems in selecting
cabinet. The high pressure put upon him to declare a policy which mi
have alienated a large group of his party, the struggle for patronage,
homely details of a statesman's life in a Midwestern town, are all told
a lucid, narrative style. Numerous historians have either repeated
critically or glossed over many unproved events in this period. Dr. B
inger has tested his facts before setting them down. His book will prov
good reading for the layman interested in this phase of Lincoln's care
It will also be widely quoted by future writers in the field.

An important contribution to knowledge of Mary Todd Lincoln m
be found in *Mrs. Lincoln Refurbishes the White House*, by Harry E. Pratt a

[1] The Abraham Lincoln Association, Springfield, Ill. $4.00.



Paul M. Angle

rnest E. East. First published in the *Lincoln Herald* in February, 1945, is valuable monograph has been reprinted as a separate.[2]

Several excellent books have been written about the wife of Abraham ncoln, but none of them contains the detailed information on her White ouse expenditures which is made available here. Mary Lincoln, "quick, rely, gay, frivolous," went from her modest Springfield home to become e First Lady of the land. With $20,000 provided by Congress to refur- sh the White House, she soon exhausted her funds on new draperies, ll cords, carpets, etc. French mirrors, gold wallpaper, a dessert service ught at $837 and a breakfast and tea service at $759 took all the avail- le appropriation. Ivory handled dinner knives at $24 per dozen, china cessories for bedrooms at $115 per set, $1,783 for gold plating dessert ives, preserve spoons, sugar tongs,etc., soon had the distraught house- eper at her wit's end to balance the budget. Told with sympathy and storical accuracy, this reprint is essential for all students of Mary Todd ncoln. The authors humorously quote the *Chicago Tribune* as pointing t that Mrs. Lincoln's democratic way of carrying two bundles on all shopping trips made the practice "fashionable."

A. W. Shipton, president of the Copley Press, made a highly in- mative talk to the executives of his organization at their annual con- nce in 1939. Soon afterwards, this speech, entitled *Lincoln's Association h the Journal*, was published as a pamphlet which has proved so interest- to Lincoln students that a new printing has recently been made.[3] Abra- n Lincoln was unofficially connected with this newspaper for over a rter of a century. In its columns he offered himself as a candidate for legislature in 1832. The *Journal* printed his most important speeches backed his campaign for the presidency. The history of the *Illinois te Journal* under the ownership of Simeon Francis and later Bailhache Baker is the contemporary story of Lincoln's Springfield.

"An Analysis of Lincoln Funeral Sermons," by Jay Monaghan, ich appeared in the May, 1945, *Indiana Magazine of History*, has been cted by the Lincoln Advisory Group of the Lincoln National Life ndation as the best magazine article on Lincoln published during the quarter of 1945. The article has been reprinted as a separate.[4]

[2] Dep't. of Lincolniana, Lincoln Memorial University, Harrogate, Tenn.
[3] Copies may be obtained free of charge by applying to Miss A. Reich, secretary to A. hipton, the *Illinois State Journal*, Springfield, Ill.
[4] The Abraham Lincoln Book Shop, 16 N. Michigan Ave., Chicago. $1.00.

Something outstanding in juveniles will be found in *Henry's Lincol* Dedicated to Fritz, the little boy who wanted to know the story behi the metal plates commemorating the Lincoln-Douglas debate in Freepo author Louise A. Neyhart lets Henry tell his experience on the memoral day.

Henry was a farm boy. He drove to town alone and saw some thir that were not there in 1858, but the story's level of accuracy is higher th most juveniles. Louise Neyhart has a gift for story telling that will app also to elders. With wholesome tolerance she pictures both Douglas a Lincoln as great statesmen. The only difference between them is expres by one of her little people: "Douglas was the best speaker all right, h I kind of thought Lincoln told the truth best." Adult readers will en the holiday atmosphere the author has created in Freeport—the crow the banners, the badges. They will not soon forget Miss Neyhart's d description of the Negro family holding little Lincoln flags in the "the way Henry's mother would sometimes hold up a candle to see bet in a dark room." Lincoln himself would probably subscribe to the c cluding words the author puts in his mouth: "If the boys and girls und stand me . . . this whole country will always be free." This thin lit volume is attractively illustrated by Charles Banks Wilson.

Another volume, *Lake Ontario*,[6] has been added to Milo M. Quai *American Lakes Series*. The author of this last volume, Arthur Pound, v satile writer and poet, and State Historian and Archivist of New Yo traces the history of Lake Ontario from the French explorations to present day. Lake Ontario, though the smallest of the Great Lakes extremely important to the Middle West. Mr. Pound gives a vivid pict of Ontario's deep cold water which floated the canoes and sailing ship the early French missionaries and traders on their way to the Mississi Valley. Lake Ontario was the great natural route to the Midlands. American Revolution made it an international boundary between Gr Britain and the United States after a century of conflict between Fra and England. The War of 1812 teminated international warfare on th waters. Since then a century and a quarter of peace has reigned betw the two nations bordering on this lake.

Arthur Pound tells the whole story. A chapter describes the imp ance of the Erie Canal to western transportation. Another outlines development of the Canadian federation—a subject which Americans h

[5] Holiday House. $1.50.
[6] Bobbs-Merrill. $3.50.

learned recently is important to them as well as to Canadians. The closing third of the book takes the reader on a shore journey around the lake. Sackets Harbor, Oswego, Hamilton, Toronto, Kingston, the Niagara power plants, and the intermediate shore line are described in lucid Baedeker style. Entertaining, informative, and well illustrated, this volume will whet an appetite for other volumes of this set.

"I don't like history because I studied it in school." This statement is heard frequently. Mr. Luke J. Scheer, a public relations man devoted to advertising and journalism, has decided to tell our country's story in an unschoolteacherish, yet at the same time accurate, manner. With a new idea for presentation he consulted one of the Midlands' leading historians. Milo M. Quaife entered into the proposed presentation with enthusiasm. *Michigan and the Old Northwest*,[7] written by Luke J. Scheer and edited by Milo M. Quaife, is the result of that collaboration. This eighty-page booklet covers the history of Michigan from the Ice Age to the end of French rule. The story is told with captioned cartoons by George Scarbo, and it also includes short critical reading lists. The Great Lakes Greyhound Lines, which sponsored the project, has issued 100,000 copies. A nonprofit experiment, this work will probably be followed by others on the later history of Michigan. In case this initial publication is popular, similar histories of other states will also be written. The author and editor realize that professors of history may scoff at their undertaking. To this Dr. Quaife has a ready answer: "If I can help to get a message across to 00,000 or 1,000,000 people I am content to let the high-brows continue o teach their 5 or 25 or 50 in the classroom." Graphically and humorously presenting its story, this booklet shows a hundred evidences of the profound knowledge of both author and editor.

All prominent Civil War characters are important to an understanding of Abraham Lincoln and his times. Dan Sickles is additionally noteworthy as a personal friend of the War President and the source of several anecdotes about both Lincoln and his wife. Moreover, he is the chief actor in the famous account of Lincoln's prayer before Gettysburg which has been described by James F. Rusling. To add to Illinoisans' interest in Sickles, his wife and a son were residents of Chicago. *Dan Sickles, Hero of Gettysburg and "Yankee King of Spain,"*[8] by Edgcumb Pinchon, is a highly

[7] Great Lakes Greyhound Lines, Inc. Thirty-five cents.
[8] Doubleday, Doran and Co., Inc. $3.50.

spiced biography of a crotchety character. Sensational as a novel, the author has not let an unscholarly story run away with academic accuracy. Exciting chapters deal with Sickles' killing of the sone of Francis Scott Key, and his own intimate relations with the Queen of Spain.

In 1888 Birger Osland, a lad of eighteen, came to America as a steerage passenger. He arrived in Chicago on a steaming hot August day with $6.00 in his pocket. His subsequent history, as told in *A Long Pull from Stavanger, The Reminiscences of a Norwegian Immigrant*,[9] reads like fiction. The boy, son of a school teacher, had a good education. He had been warned against coming to America without sufficient money to establish himself. He remembered this advice when he found himself obliged to wash dishes in a cheap restaurant and do other menial jobs which eventually made him ill. Before long, however, he got a job on the famous Norwegian newspaper, *Skandinaven*. At the age of twenty-five, Birger Osland heard Bryan deliver his Cross of Gold speech. The young Scandinavian says that he had not felt the thorns of gold pressing down on his brow prior to that time, but Bryan's eloquence made him keenly aware of them. The author's later participation in Chicago politics, and in the organization of various Scandinavian clubs and the Norwegian-American steamship line, are all told with charm and clarity. During the first World War he served as a military attaché in Norway where he discovered a German plot to sabotage buildings and spread disease germs among enemy civilians. The volume is an absorbing human story of "only yesterday."

The sight of steamboats plodding up and down the Mississippi is common enough to all Illinoisans. Little puffing vessels with a great tow trailing along behind are part of regular river scenery. Capt. Frank J. Fugina in *Lore and Lure of the Upper Mississippi River*[10] brings to life the captains and the crews of these vessels that are so close to all of us and yet so foreign to common knowledge. Full of the romance, the daring, and the danger of his calling, the captain tells of the everyday life and problems of a river navigator. As a barefoot boy he caught bullheads on Old Man River's sloughs. The Father of Waters has fascinated him ever since. At the age of eighteen he hired out to "run the nigger" on a tow—a riverman's phrase explained adequately in this book. Landsmen who read

[9] Norwegian-American Historical Association, Northfield, Minn. $2.50.
[10] Published by the author, Winona, Minn. $4.50.

he narrative will also learn that a "Swiss bell ringer" is a nervous pilot, ıot an actor. These two quaint phrases of river lingo may serve the reader ıs a sample of the original view of river life that awaits him in this book. Captain Fugina tells his story with Homeric simplicity and an abundance)f half-tone photographs.

A patchwork of Mormon doctrine selected to show the political)hilosophy of Joseph Smith may be found in *Joseph Smith, Prophet-States-nan*, by G. Homer Durham,[11] Associate Professor of Political Science at Jtah State Agricultural College.

The old church and village park in the Bishop Hill settlement, six ıiles west of Galva in Henry County, are to become state property under rovisions of a bill passed by the last legislature. Funds have been pro-ided to restore them to their original appearance, and a full-time cus-odian will be placed in charge. The Bishop Hill colony was founded a entury ago by Eric Janson, leader of Swedish refugees from religious ersecution.

The little cottage in Galesburg where Carl Sandburg was born on ınuary 6, 1878, was recently purchased by admirers of the poet-historian. fforts are now being made to raise $5,000 to restore the cottage and also rovide $30,000 for a maintenance fund. All donors to the project auto-ıatically become members of the Carl Sandburg Association. Checks ıould be made payable to Sandburg Birthplace, Inc., and should be sent) H. E. Hanlon, assistant cashier, First Galesburg National Bank, or .dda George, president, Carl Sandburg Association, Galesburg, Illinois. ommittees in charge of the restoration are now collecting books, manu-:ripts, letters, and pictures connected with Sandburg and Abraham Lin-)ln.

An attractively printed and illustrated four-page leaflet, the *Aurora 'istorical Society Bulletin*, is being published at intervals by the Aurora istorical Society. Volume I, Number 1, which was issued last March, ves a brief history of the Society's home and museum—the former

[11] The Bookcraft Co., Salt Lake City, Utah, 1944. $2.25.

William A. Tanner residence. A directory of principal exhibits in th museum is also included in this number. The second issue of the *Bulletin* which appeared in July, contains an article by Clarence R. Smith, museun director, on clocks and watches in the museum. Future publications wil carry accounts of other specific exhibits. This series of articles should d much to popularize the more than ten thousand items in the Auror museum.

At the annual meeting of the Society on May 14, the followin officers and directors were elected: Charles P. Burton, president; Lorin C Hill and A. J. Meyers, vice-presidents; Bess Lockhart, general secretary Dorothy Simpson, membership secretary; Eleanor Plain, treasurer; Mrs Ella W. Seargeant, Mrs. Bernard J. Stumm, Paul Ochsenschlager, an Mrs. Florence Muschler, directors to fill expired terms.

Among the annual reports made at this meeting, one by Miss Alic Applegate, museum curator, described the interest taken in the barn a the rear of the museum. Relics of the horse-and-buggy days housed ther attracted so much attention that conducted tours of the barn were ar ranged.

The seventeenth annual Old Settlers reunion, sponsored by th Aurora Historical Society, was held on August 29. The program, whic was arranged by Paul Ochsenschlager, included informal remarks b Charles Pierce Burton, president of the Society, and an address by Rodne H. Brandon, of Batavia. Several musical selections were presented by Mrs Helen Meiers, Mrs. Margaret LeBrink, and Miss Frances Northam. Th reunion was dedicated to Miss Anna R. Wilber who, until she recentl resigned, was a member of the board of directors of the Aurora Historica Society.

The Bureau County Historical Society re-elected all its officers at meeting held in Princeton on June 5. These include the following: Mr H. P. Grove, president; Miss Grace Bryant, vice-president; Miss Eth Sharp, secretary; Mrs. Ernest Roe, treasurer; T. A. Fenoglio, custodian Frank Grisell, assistant custodian. Named to the board of directors wer B. N. Stevens, Mrs. John Skinner, Miss Grace Bryant, F. S. Fowler, an Mrs. Eva E. Howard. The title of honorary member of the Society wa bestowed on E. F. Norton, a director of the Society for many years.

Installation of the following officers of the Cahokia Historical So ciety of St. Clair County was held on June 26: Mrs. William H. Matlack

president; Mrs. Charles F. Gergen, first vice-president; Mrs. Homer Little, second vice-president; Mrs. Anita H. Hennessy, secretary; Miss Emma Asher, treasurer. Members of the board of trustees are the Rev. Fr. Joseph Mueller, Melvin Price, Emmett P. Griffin, E. V. Menges, Calvin Johnson, . R. Huff, R. J. Huschle, Leo Dougherty, James Flannery, Sr., Mrs. Robert J. Boylan, Sr., Mrs. Nell Walsh Barnes, and Mrs. Albert Diehm.

Mrs. Homer M. Little was introduced as the "Spotlight Citizen" of the month and a program under the direction of Mrs. C. M. Horner was presented. Mrs. Lula M. Steel and Dr. Magnolia Carlson were in charge of a buffet supper which preceded the meeting.

The early days of American yachting were recalled by a nautical exhibit opened at the Chicago Historical Society in July. Currier and ves steamboat prints, five ship models, and prints from water colors by rederick Cozzens of several yachts in competition, were included in the isplay. In the Society's portrait gallery, oil paintings of prominent Chiagoans from the early days to the present time were recently exhibited.

Dr. Otto Eisenschiml discussed "The Story of Lincoln's Assassination" at the eleventh annual meeting of the Ravenswood-Lake View Historical Association (Chicago) in April. Exhibits relating to the religious, ocial, school, and business life of the Ravenswood and Lake View communities were on display. All "old-timers" and others interested in the istory of the North Side were invited.

Miss Herma N. Clark and Albert F. Keeney were the principal peakers at the spring meeting of the West Side Historical Society (Chiago) on April 30. The meeting was held at the Legler Branch Library.

The topic of the May meeting of the Historical Society of Woodwn (Chicago) was "The Spiritual History of the Community." Mrs. . J. Chladek, program chairman, presented Dr. Clarence E. Paulus as the airman of the evening. An exhibit of Woodlawn Bibles of historical lue was arranged in connection with the discussion. A social hour was anned by Mrs. J. Max Harris, assisted by Mrs. George W. Dobson and rs. T. M. Broadhurst.

"The Story of Our Native Landscape" was the subject of the illus trated talk given by Mrs. Raymond Watts, naturalist, at the midsumme open meeting of the DuPage County Historical Society on August 12 The meeting was held at the Morton Arboretum near Lisle. Mrs. Josep M. Cudahy, chairman of the Arboretum trustees, described the foundin of the Arboretum by her father, Joy Morton, and Mrs. Theron Wasso displayed two new relief maps she recently made of the Chicago an DuPage area. Paul M. Angle, new director of the Chicago Historica Society, spoke on the importance of local historical societies.

"Literature Written in Geneva" was the theme of the open meetin of the Geneva Historical Society which was held on June 17. Leo Wheeler, president, was in charge of the program. Excerpts from th works of several local authors were read by Miss Elva Garfield, Mr Margaret Alexander Allan, and Charles Pierce Burton.

Frank E. Sawyer was recently re-elected president of the Maco County Historical Society. Other officers are Mrs. W. W. Doane, vic president, Miss Mabel Richmond, secretary, and Miss Clara Bake treasurer.

A decision to make a comprehensive study of historical subjects c local interest was made by members of the Madison County Historic Society at their June meeting. An educational committee consisting c Miss Ella Tunnell, Miss Lenore Kriege, and Miss Louise Travous w appointed to compile data. The first subject undertaken by the group w the history of Fort Russell.

The program at the above-mentioned meeting of the organizatio consisted of a panel discussion on "How Can We Best Interest Our Yout in State, County, and Local History?" P. L. Ewing, C. H. Dorris, G. A Smith, Mrs. Neil Waterbury, and Miss Ella Tunnell took part in the di cussion, with L. P. Wetzel acting as moderator. Miss Louise Travo made a talk on "Renewing the Youth of Our History."

The *Jacksonville Journal-Courier*, in co-operation with the Morga County Historical Society, is still conducting the "History Quiz" whic

was inaugurated some time ago. Each week three questions about the history of Old Morgan County are published in the paper. For each question answered correctly the Morgan County Historical Society gives one year's membership in the Society.

Two papers were presented at the May meeting of the Peoria Historical Society. Mrs. Edith Ray read a biography of J. B. Greenhut, and Miss Ada G. Lester gave an account of Samuel Clarke and the development of his store in Peoria. At this meeting, also, the following persons were named as officers of the Society: Philip Becker, Jr., president; Harry L. Spooner, vice-president; E. C. Bessler, treasurer; Mrs. Edna Reichelderfer, secretary; G. R. Barnett, Ernest E. East, and Ray N. Brons, directors.

Observance of Peoria's centennial is being continued throughout the year. On July 21, programs commemorating events in Peoria's history were held at each of the city's eighteen play centers.

The Historical Society of Quincy and Adams County held its annual meeting on May 27. The following officers were chosen for the coming year: W. H. Sinnock, president; Ernest Wood, first vice-president; Oliver B. Williams, second vice-president; Harvey H. Sprick, treasurer; Miss Katherine Buerkin, recording secretary; Miss Ella Rogers, corresponding secretary; Mrs. Leaton Irwin, librarian; Charles F. Eichenauer, historiographer; Julius Kespohl, auditor; L. E. Emmons, Dr. E. B. Montgomery, and T. Chester Poling, trustees.

The annual spring meeting of the Rock Island Historical Society was held on May 11 in Moline. John H. Hauberg, honorary president of the society, read a paper on "The Revolutionary War in Illinois." Musical entertainment was furnished by John Greve and a girls' chorus directed by Miss Margaret Ford. The program committee for this occasion included Miss Georgia First, J. L. Oakleaf, and Mrs. Lynn Callaway. The refreshment committee consisted of Mrs. Wilson P. Hunt, Mrs. C. R. Losborough, and Miss Lura Lukens. All officers of the Society were reelected for another year. These include: Henry F. Staack, president; Miss Elsie Shocker, first vice-president; Mrs. C. A. Waldmann, second vice-president; Miss Alice Williams, treasurer; Mrs. M. H. Lyon, Jr., secretary; and Miss Helen Marshall, archivist.

The semi-annual meeting of the Southern Illinois Historical Society was held in Marion on June 22, with Judge John M. Reid, of Marion, a the principal speaker. His subject was the early history of Spillertown At a meeting of the officers and directors of the Society in July, E. G Lentz, Carbondale, was named managing editor of the *Southern Illinoi Historical Bulletin*. Clarence Bonnell, of Harrisburg, was continued a chairman of the executive board.

The Stephenson County Historical Society, which opened its nev home and museum about a year ago, has been making good use of it facilities. On May 19 and 20, an Indian exhibit, arranged by a committe headed by Mr. and Mrs. Wesley W. Stukenberg, was opened at a previev for members of the Society. Special Indian music was provided and cos tumed guides were in attendance. A copy of the Brush portrait of Jan Addams, made from the Hull House painting by Mrs. Donald L. Breed was also on display. The copy was presented to the Society by Mrs. Breed These exhibits were open to the public every Saturday and Sunday after noon for two months, on payment of an admittance fee. A series of othe displays will be arranged in the museum from time to time. The follow ing officers are directing the Society's activities this year: Harold K. Balt zer, president; Mrs. C. A. Hoefer, first vice-president; C. F. Ogden, secon vice-president; J. R. Jackson, third vice-president; Miss Helen Snyder secretary; Clarence W. Chapman, treasurer.

Help! Help! Can any of our readers supply the Illinois State His torical Library with one or more of the issues of the *Sangamon Journal Sangamo Journal*, or *Illinois Journal* (the name was changed frequently listed below? If so, the Library would appreciate receiving them as a gi or a loan. In the latter case, they will be returned as soon as photostat have been made. An index to the early issues of the *Journal* is being com piled and it will be incomplete unless the gaps in the Library files ar filled in by our friends. The value of such an index to students of histor cannot be overestimated. We hope that the missing issues can be supplied Please address the Illinois State Historical Library, Centennial Building Springfield, Illinois.

1831: Nov. 17, Nov. 24
1835: Oct. 10, Oct. 17, Nov. 14, Dec. 26
1838: Dec. 29

1839: Dec. 13
1840: Feb. 14, Dec. 29
1841: Jan. 1, Jan. 5, Jan. 12, Jan. 15, Mar. 12, Apr. 23, July 30
1842: May 27, June 24
1843: Mar. 2-23 inclusive, May 25, June 8, June 22-Nov. 2 inclusive, Nov. 16-Dec. 28 inclusive
1844: Feb. 1, July 18
1845: July 10, Oct. 23, Nov. 20, Dec. 18
1846: Nov. 12
1847: June 24, July 22, Aug. 19, Aug. 26, Sept. 30
1848 (weekly): Feb. 17, June 15, Sept. 20, Oct. 11, Oct. 18
1848 (daily): Any issues from about the middle of June to the end of the year
1849 (weekly): April 11, April 25, May 2, July 25, Aug. 1
1849 (daily): Feb. 15, June 2, Aug. 16, Sept. 21, Sept. 22, Sept. 25, Oct. 2, Oct. 4, Oct. 5, Oct. 6, Oct. 11, Oct. 12
1850 (weekly): May 1, May 8, July 3, Oct. 9, Dec. 11
1850 (daily): June 1, June 15, June 17, Sept. 7, Sept. 9, Sept. 11, Sept. 12, Sept. 16

CONTRIBUTORS

Paul M. Angle, until recently State Historian of Illinois and the ditor of this *Journal*, is now Director of the Chicago Historical Society. biographical sketch of Mr. Angle may be found elsewhere in this *Jour-il.*[12] . . . E. L. Dukes is custodian of the museum and library of the Ed-ards County Historical Society, housed in the birthplace of former Gov. ouis L. Emmerson in Albion. He is now engaged in writing a book to : entitled *Yester Years in Edwards County*. . . . Dr. W. G. Piersel is Statis-cian for the State Department of Public Safety in Springfield. With his ife, he prepared a history of the Wesley Foundation on the occasion of s twenty-fifth anniversary in 1938. That manuscript is now in the Foun-ation Archives in Urbana.

[12] See pages 263-64.

ABLE OF CONTENTS

ROM LOG CABIN TO SOD HOUSE
Edward Everett Dale 383

LSON J. STREETER—AN AGRARIAN LIBERAL
Alfred W. Newcombe 414

LINOIS, HOST TO WELL-KNOWN NINETEENTH CENTURY AUTHORS
Robert R. Hubach 446

HE ILLINOIS BOOKSHELF
Caton, *Early Bench and Bar of Illinois*, by Jay Monaghan 468

ISTORICAL NOTE
Jesse W. Harris, "Pioneer Vocabulary Remains in Southern Illinois" 476

HE ILLINOIS SCRAPBOOK 481

EWS AND COMMENT 492

ONTRIBUTORS 508

ILLUSTRATIONS

A Typical Log Cabin of the Eighteen-Thirties. Replica of Rutledge Tavern, New Salem State Park.....386

Denton Offut Store, New Salem State Park, Characteristic Hewn-Log House of the Eighteen-Thirties.....394

Starting Life in a Sod House in Oklahoma in the Nineties.....402

An Oklahoma Homesteader and his Family in the Nineties.....410

Mrs James Longstreet, with Delegation from the Annual Meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society, at Lincoln's Tomb in Oak Ridge Cemetery, Springfield.....492

Dr. Edward P. Alexander Addressing Members of the Illinois State Historical Society at an Outdoor Meeting at New Salem State Park on October 6, 1945.....494

FROM LOG CABIN TO SOD HOUSE*

BY EDWARD EVERETT DALE

IN recent years we have heard much of Americanism and the American way of life, as though they were both tatic and standardized, though anyone who has traveled xtensively in various parts of our country knows that they re neither the one nor the other. Politically our nation is ıade up of states, but so far as the pattern of economic and ocial life is concerned, it is even today made up of regions hat are in many cases very unlike one another. Perhaps there s a fundamental Americanism which is essentially the same hroughout the nation but the American way of life in New ngland is very unlike that of the Deep South, and in neither egion does it bear much resemblance to that of the Great lains, the Spanish Southwest, or the Pacific Coast. The life f any of these areas, moreover, is very different today from vhat it was half a century ago, so it is plain that both time nd place must be considered in seeking to determine condiions in any portion of America.

The cultural and economic pattern which, broadly peaking, is the life of the people of any region, grows from ertain distinct roots. Some of these, as climate and geo-raphic conditions, lie close beneath the surface while others re deeply rooted in the subsoil of history. From these grows pattern of life which reaches full flowering and eventually roduces fruits. It would seem that if these fruits produced y various regional cultures could be gathered and placed in great wine press and the juice could be extracted, the re-

* This paper was read at the Annual Dinner of the Illinois State Historical Society in pringfield on October 5, 1945.

sulting brew would have certain distinct qualities. For in it one might find the wholesome but slightly acid touch of Puritan New England, the mellow sweetness of the Old South, the substantial body of the Middle West, the wild raw tang of the Great Plains and Rocky Mountain Plateau, the peculiar spiciness of the Spanish Southwest, and the exotic flavor of the Pacific Coast all mingled in the peculiar blend that we call Americanism which, lacking any one of these elements would not be the same.

In addition to the regions named and some others, there existed for many generations in America another area in which conditions of life were in most cases essentially the same and whose people usually had a distinct regional consciousness. That area was the American frontier. The characteristics of the frontier did not vary much for at least two centuries and the people who occupied it, whether in the northern, middle, or southern zones of settlement, felt themselves bound together by common experiences, hardships and dangers and by the necessity for solving the same problems. Remote from markets and from industrial and commercial centers, they usually felt themselves either neglected or exploited by the people of the more thickly settled regions farther east, and this too was a bond of union.

The purpose of this paper is to discuss very briefly the life of the people of two American frontiers—that of the log-cabin dwellers of the timbered regions east of the Mississippi, or largely speaking, of the first tier of states west of that stream, and the frontier of the early settlers of the prairie plains beginning as a rule some distance west of the great Father of Waters.

As agricultural settlement moved slowly westward from the Atlantic seaboard and passed the fall line of the rivers, there was always along its western rim a pioneer society composed of people who lived under frontier conditions and who looked to the West as an area of free land and economic

opportunity rather than to Europe as the source of culture, as did the people of the coastal plain. On beyond the fall line to the foot of the mountains these settlements were gradually extended, then they jumped the first range of the Appalachian Highland into the great valley, poured westward through the Cumberland Gap or down the Ohio to occupy the Mississippi Valley, and eventually crossed the great river to settle Missouri, Arkansas, Louisiana, eastern Texas, and Iowa. Before 1840 Missouri and Arkansas had been admitted as states and half a dozen years later both Texas and Iowa had become members of the Federal Union.

By the time of the outbreak of the Civil War the edge of the great prairie plains had been reached and here this advancing agricultural population hesitated, reluctant to attempt to cope with a region so unlike any which it had known in the past. While certain portions of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Kentucky, and some other states had fairly extensive areas of prairie, the life of the American pioneers had largely been that of forest dwellers and was shaped and conditioned by the wooded lands on which they lived or which lay in more or less close proximity to their homes. While generalizations are dangerous and can never be more than approximately correct, pioneer life in America up to this time had been a woodland life. The occupation of the vast stretches of level prairie plains lying to the west was still in the future.

Without too much logic we are always likely to judge the characteristics of any individual by the type of home which he occupies. By no means all of the people of the wooded regions of the frontier lived in log cabins and certainly less than half of those of the plains of Nebraska, Kansas, western Oklahoma or Texas resided in sod houses but log cabins seldom appeared on the prairie plains and the sod house was unknown east of the great prairies. In consequence, it is not without some reason that these two areas

may be called the log-cabin and the sod-house frontiers.

Up until the middle 1840's many of the pioneers who migrated westward came down the Ohio by boat, thence to the mouth of either the Missouri or Arkansas and up those streams to a suitable spot from which they spread out into the interior. This ability to penetrate the West by means of rivers was largely responsible for the admission of Missouri and Arkansas to the Union in 1821 and 1836 respectively while that of Iowa was delayed until 1846. By no means all of these westward emigrants, however, came by water. Many came overland in covered wagons, some on horseback, some on foot with their possessions strapped to the backs of pack horses, and some on foot—period!

The story has been told of a family consisting of husband, wife, and two very small children who set out from eastern Missouri to reach free land in the western part of that state. Having no domestic animals, they had to carry all their household goods and utensils on their backs. Both husband and wife were so heavily burdened that the former could in addition carry only one child and the latter none at all. This did not discourage them. The husband would pick up one child, carry it half a mile, and deposit it together with his axe, gun, and other impedimenta beside the trail. He would then walk back and carry the second youngster half a mile beyond the first, after which he would return for his property and the remaining junior member of the little group. In the meantime, the wife plodded steadily onward pausing occasionally to rest while the father did his own resting during the return trip for his offspring waiting more or less patiently beside the trail. In such intermittent fashion did the little family proceed toward the end of their own particular rainbow. Surely the lure of the West must have been well nigh irresistible to induce even the most courageous of pioneers to undertake a migration under such difficulties!

A Typical Log Cabin of the Eighteen-Thirties. Replica of Rutledge Tavern, New Salem State Park.

servative souls who had heard of boilers bursting on the river steamers and feared that the strange iron contraption might blow up and kill half the family.

The more enterprising settlers of a community frequently built a double log house with a fireplace and chimney at each end and a wide hallway, sometimes called "a dog trot," between the two rooms. In this hall were hung the tools, saddle, and harness. Here the dogs slept in winter and here the housewife sat on hot summer days to do her churning, sewing, or preparing vegetables for cooking, since this wide hall open at either end was the coolest part of the house. If in addition to the two rooms and open hallway the exterior walls were built high enough to provide attic bedrooms, and if a shady front porch were added, the family felt that the home was little short of luxurious.

The spot for the location of the home had been chosen with due regard both to the practical and the artistic. Sometimes it was in a sheltered glen where it would be protected from the cold winter winds. More often it stood on a low tree-crowned hill from which might be had a view of the surrounding country. If possible it was built near a spring which not only furnished a supply of water for domestic use but over which a springhouse might be built where milk, butter, and other perishable foods could be kept cool in summer.

Once the home had been erected, however, often with the help of kindly neighbors, the pioneer's task was only well begun. Unless he happened to be located at the edge of some small prairie the forest lay all about, so after building cribs, lots, and shelter for the domestic animals came the labor of clearing and fencing fields for planting. From dawn to dusk the settler toiled at the task of felling trees, splitting rails, and building the worm fences with stakes and riders to tie the panels together. All day long, in many cases, his axe sang a song of triumph over the forest, interrupted a

imes by the crash of a falling tree. Moreover, what the voodland pioneer could do with an axe would make the ity dweller or one born and bred on the wide prairies gaze t him in goggle-eyed wonder. The curiously curved axe handle which is purely an American invention and is even et virtually unknown to Europe was evolved quite early. n order the more quickly to provide a sizable area for planting, some of the larger trees were often merely "deadened" y girdling and left standing. Once the field had been cleared, t must be fenced, since the livestock usually ran at large. It eems useless to tell the people of the state which has produced the most famous rail splitter of all time anything about he labor of making rails!

The logs not to be used in building or for fencing were olled together into great heaps at the neighborhood "log ollings" and burned, and the stumps and girdled trees were lso burned as far as possible when they had become dry. The settler could not foresee a time when the American people would deplore the passing of the forests and need so desperately the vast store of timber thus so wantonly destroyed. Even if he had, it is doubtful if the possible wants of the future would have prevailed over the necessities of the present. Whether it was timber, game and fish, soil or mineral esources, the average frontier American has seldom thought nuch of conservation for the sake of future generations. 'Have you no regard for posterity?" an old pioneer was once sked. "Regard for posterity?" was the answer. "No, I hould say not. Why should I? What did posterity ever do or me?"

To the log-cabin settler the forest was a horrible impediment to progress and civilization—an enemy to be fought very day. Moreover, the forest fought back with a persistence and vigor that must at times have proved most discouraging. After a field had been cleared and the logs and lash burned, roots still remained deep in the soil and from

these, each spring, sprouts shot up with an enthusiasm tha must have made it appear that a giant hand had sown som strange variety of dragon's teeth on every hard-won acre These must be cut down annually and, if possible, the root from which they had grown, destroyed. The labor require to hold and utilize what had already been wrested from th forest made additional clearing proceed very slowly. In cor sequence, the area of cultivated land usually remained sma for several years.

In most cases, however, there was little need that i should be large. Remote from markets, the settler sough only to provide for himself and family those fundamenta needs of food, clothing, and shelter. Even this was not a ways easy and the ambitious man who sought each year t widen the clearing and so provide more land to produce mor food for his family found his life one of unremitting toi Corn was the staple breadstuff of most of the woodlan pioneers and hominy, corn pone, griddle cakes and cor dodgers—sometimes known as "hush puppies"—were stap articles of diet.

At first, meat was largely obtained from hunting, an the long rifle and skill in its use furnished the best guarante of an adequate meat supply for the family. It was not lon until game began to grow scarce but by this time the first pig brought in had increased to such numbers as to provide a ample supply of pork, ham, and bacon. Usually, hogs ran a large in the woods fattening on the mast, but were called u each evening to be fed a little corn—in the vernacular of th pioneers "just enough to ha'nt 'em home" so they would b at home at "hog killing time."

Two or three lean cows provided a somewhat inadequa supply of milk and butter while the only fruit during th early years consisted of wild blackberries, huckleberrie plums, grapes, persimmons, and pawpaws gathered in th woods. A few peach, apple, and pear trees were usual

planted, however, and when these came into bearing the situation with respect to fruit was greatly improved. The garden supplied an abundance of fresh vegetables, and turnips, potatoes, sweet potatoes, and cabbage were stored in a cellar or buried in the ground for winter use.

Clothing was often homespun for there were at least a few sheep in almost every community, though they required considerable care due to the ravages of wolves and other predatory animals. Shoes were made at home from home-tanned leather and a warm coat was often made from the skins of animals while the buckskin shirt and coonskin cap were also common. Furniture for the cabin was likewise made at home. This consisted of bedsteads on which were placed feather beds, straw ticks, or shuck mattresses, hickory-bottomed chairs, tables of rough boards, or a bench on which the children sat at meals and which was usually placed behind the dining table next to the wall. Often two or three rag rugs were on the floor and one or two pictures on the walls. Light was furnished by tallow candles and in the later period by kerosene lamps.

With the passing years life grew a trifle easier. The log-cabin home was weathered by the elements. Gay morning-glories climbed over the windows or the front porch, and beds of old-fashioned flowers such as pinks, phlox, bachelor's buttons, and zinnias beside the front door or along the path leading to it added splashes of color to the scene. In time the humble home, which had at first appeared new and out of place, nestled into its setting and merged with the landscape as though placed there by the hand of God Himself.

The horizon of the woodland pioneer and his family was necessarily limited. Seldom did he know many people beyond walking distance from his own cabin though "walking distance" is a relative term and was greater than most people would regard it now. Yet, in spite of long hours of hard labor, time was found for social contact with neighbors.

Often on Sunday morning the entire family would rise early and with the numerous youngsters washed and scrubbed t within an inch of their lives, all were loaded into the wago for a drive of two or three miles to spend the day wit friends. Here they always received a warm welcome. Whe the horses were stabled and fed, the men sat in the shade o a tree and talked while the women went into the kitchen an prepared dinner and the children ran wild about the farm o played such games as marbles, town ball, or prisoner's base Eventually dinner was announced and the older people wen in and sat down at the long table, while the children wer required to wait since there was no room at the table no were there enough dishes for everyone to eat at the sam time.

After grace had been said, the guests and hosts alike fel to with an enthusiasm that the abundance before them full warranted. When they had finished, the dishes were washed the second table was set, and the children attacked the foo with appetites considerably sharpened by the delay. Thos Sunday dinners in a frontier home, especially after the firs two or three years of pioneering had passed, would make th modern housewife, accustomed to dealing with the proble of red points, blue points, and general shortages, turn gree with envy. Chicken and dumplings, fried ham with re gravy, turnip greens and other fresh vegetables from th garden, blackberry cobbler, cool buttermilk, coffee, cor bread and golden butter were only a few of the items likel to grace the table in the early summer season. In winte baked sweet potatoes, dried corn, and beans boiled wit pork, turnips, or cabbage were substituted for the fres vegetables, and nearly always there was chicken, or in som cases baked spareribs, country sausage, fried pork, or baco and cream gravy. In fact many a person who can remembe these earlier days will assert that he has eaten better meal in some log-cabin homes than he has ever been able to fin

ı any fashionable New York restaurant where it costs a ollar or two to sit down and a great deal more to get up.

Such all-day visits were frequently almost the only form f social relaxation for many a busy housewife though there ere occasional quilting or sewing parties, and sometimes n itinerant preacher held services in one of the homes or nder a rude brush arbor.

The men, however, had more social contacts than did heir wives. Eventually a gristmill would be erected beside ome convenient stream which furnished the necessary water ower, and men and boys bringing a "turn of corn" to mill vould sit in the shade and gossip or swap stories while wait- ng for the grain to be ground, often commenting sarcasti- ally but in good-humored fashion on the length of time re- uired for that work. "Most persistent mill I ever saw," sserted Hank Johnson. "Just as soon as it gets one grain round, it tackles the next one right off." "Yep," replied is companion, "my boy Sam says, sez he, 'Why, paw, I ould eat that meal as fast as this mill grinds it.' 'Maybe ou could, son,' sez I, 'but how long could you keep it up?' Well, paw,' sez he, 'I figger I could keep it up till I starved o death!' "

Soon some enterprising settler usually built a general nerchandise store near the mill or at some crossroads and lispensed as much sugar, coffee, calico, and other commodi- ies as the pioneer settlers could purchase, frequently barter- ng his merchandise for coonskins, buckskin, cowhides, tal- low, and beeswax, or butter and eggs if not too remote from ı larger market. The crossroads store also became something of a social center where people met their neighbors and ex- changed neighborhood news while transacting business. A schoolhouse was soon built and this too became a center for social activities. Church services might be held there once or twice a month, a literary and debating society was organ- ized, box suppers were held, and meetings for singing ar-

ranged on Sunday afternoons. The younger people also hel parties, socials, play parties, and in some cases square dance at the more commodious homes. So the little communit soon began to enjoy some social life.

As the years went by, the character of the log-cabi frontier began to change. The settler's family increased an he found it necessary to widen his fields by clearing addi tional acres in order to produce more food for so many hungr mouths. Families were, as a rule, large: half a dozen childre being only an average number, ten or a dozen not unusual With little hired labor available and money to pay for i very scarce even if it had been procurable, children were a distinct asset to people faced with the heavy task of clearing and improving a woodland farm. In consequence, the settle "raised his own help" just as he raised his own meat, fruit, and vegetables. Some months ago the writer and an elderly farmer from the wooded hills of northern Arkansas were walking along the streets of a small city with a huge Navy base located nearby, weaving their way in and out of an almost continuous procession of baby buggies pushed by young Navy wives. Presently the old farmer shifted his chew of tobacco to the other side of his mouth, spat generously over the curb, and remarked: "Well, it looks like that in eighteen or twenty years we're sure either agoin' to have to start another war or clear more land."

Here spoke a voice from the past—stating in succinct fashion the problem of the log-cabin pioneer of three-quarters of a century ago. With his family increasing so rapidly, he must clear more land, but the limits to which his fields might be extended were marked by the boundaries of his farm and before many years these had been reached. Except in certain parts of eastern Texas—a state always generous with land which was its most plentiful commodity—very few of the forest pioneers had originally acquired a large acreage. The famous advice given by Mrs. Means to her husband who

Denton Offut Store, New Salem State Park, Characteristic Hewn-Log House of the Eighteen-Thirties.

dweller with half a dozen boys fast growing up to do
Clearly his little farm would not support the entire family
Once these lads had reached manhood they must, if they
continued farm life, either migrate or become tenant farmers
giving a large share of the fruits of their toil to the landlord
Prices of farm land were by this time too high for them to
purchase farms in the community.

Of course from 1840 to 1865 events of nationwide im
portance came to confuse the picture. The migration to
Oregon, the California Gold Rush, the Pike's Peak boom
and the Civil War took many thousands of young men from
the log-cabin frontier, some of them permanently but in most
cases only for a temporary absence. Those that returned came
back only to find opportunities for them less promising than
when they had left.

There were factors other than providing for the future
of a growing family that caused many a log-cabin dweller to
leave his hard-won clearing and seek his fortune on the
western prairies. The fertility of the soil declined due to
erosion and lack of crop rotation. The little farm, which
now produced less than formerly, must provide a living for
a larger number. Also on every frontier there have always
been certain restless individuals who pioneer for the sheer
love of pioneering. This applies not only to the hunters
mountain men, and other characters of the Great West but
to settlers as well. It is in a sense the manifestation of the
creative urge. Such men love the thrill that comes from build
ing a home and carving a farm from the wilderness and help
ing to develop a new community. Once that has been done
they are eager to push on and repeat the process.

All these factors and many more must be considered in
determining the reasons for the rapid settlement of the prairie
plains in the decades immediately following the close of the
Civil War. Just to the west of the last log-cabin frontier lay
the enormous stretch of level prairies. At their eastern edge

settlement had hesitated for approximately a generation but, not long after Appomattox, the migration began and soon swelled to a flood covering all that part of the plains region suitable for crop growing and extending at times into other parts which we now realize were not suitable, due to lack of rainfall. In the two decades from 1870 to 1890 the population of the Dakotas grew, in round numbers, from 14,000 to 719,000; that of Nebraska from 122,000 to 1,058,000; Kansas from 364,000 to 1,427,000; and Texas from 818,000 to 2,235,000. Even in the next decade, from 1890 to 1900, there was a great increase in the population of some western states and territories, that of Oklahoma Territory rising from 61,000 to over 400,000. While a considerable part of this population, particularly in the North, was European born, much of it in the central and southern area came from the log-cabin frontier of the next tier of states to the east.

The log-cabin dweller who sought a new home on the prairies, like every other man who migrates to a new land, always did so despite the urgings and oft-expressed misgivings of his friends and neighbors. "Wild geese migrate—owls stay at home" declared the friends of Nathan Wyeth of Massachusetts when he expressed his intention of removing to Oregon. When Hiram Wick, a tenant farmer of the Texas Cross Timbers, who had a large family of girls and owned no property except a wagon and team, a few tools and household goods, and a number of "hound dogs" and a shotgun, announced his intention of going to Oklahoma, his old father-in-law was vociferous in his objections. Sitting at a neighbor's dinner table one day the old gentleman expressed himself in no uncertain terms. "Let me tell you, Mr. Smith," he exclaimed, pounding the table to give emphasis to his words, "whenever Hiram Wick goes out West with that big family of girls of his'n and no cattle—it'll break him—it'll break him—just as shore as I'm a-settin' here a-eatin' your grub." Yet Hiram had nothing to "break" except a pack of hounds and a shotgun.

Once he had acquired what was called the "Western fever," however, a man seldom gave much heed to the objections of his neighbors. The Homestead Law of 1862 gave 160 acres free of charge except for land office fees to every citizen twenty-one years old or the head of a family, or to those who had declared their intention of becoming citizens. Migration for the tenant farmer involved few preliminaries. Ordinarily he had only a wagon, team, and a few tools and household goods. Once his crops had been gathered, all movable property could be loaded into the wagon and a start made for the West. The same was true of a newly married couple who went west to establish their first home. Ordinarily the parents of the groom and bride each made some contributions toward providing the necessary outfit for the journey and the establishment of a new household.

Not much was required. Many a young couple set out for the Prairie West with high hopes for the future though their sole worldly possessions consisted of a pony team and an old wagon in which was stored a plow, hoe, spade, axe, and gun, together with a feather bed, half a dozen quilts, a couple of chairs, and a box containing a skillet, kettle, coffee pot, a very few dishes, and a meager supply of food for the journey. Often the young husband did not have $25 in real money tucked in the pocket of his faded jeans, and in some cases it was much less.

For the small landowner migration involved more complications since in most cases a buyer must be found for the farm. Seldom did the purchase price amount to more than a few hundred dollars, and not more than one-third of this was ordinarily paid in cash while the remainder was likely to be due in installments annually for three or four years. When the farm had been sold, with some misgivings and regrets, there remained the work of finishing the harvest of the crops, selling the livestock and such other property as could not be taken in the wagon, and a hundred other little chores and

rrands. The wife carefully packed her most treasured be-
ongings and the junior members of the household went
bout swelling with importance while their young friends
nd playmates gazed at them with respectful admiration.
hey were going west—out into a land of romance and ad-
enture—a region of wide plains traversed by mighty mys-
erious rivers and they already felt themselves "wild west-
rners." To any questions from the unfortunate youngsters
hat must remain in the drab and monotonous surroundings,
hey responded with imagination and enthusiasm. Yes, it
vould be a long and dangerous journey but their dad was a
rave man and would see them all safely through to its end.
)nce there, life was certain to be filled with adventure!
urely there were Indians out there and cowboys and wolves,
ears and panthers! They themselves were going to learn to
e great riders and hunters and perhaps scouts or ranchmen.
Maybe some day they would come back mounted on dashing
orses with silver-mounted saddles and dressed in buckskin
vith boots, and spurs, and all the regalia of real cowboys!
t is little wonder that their youthful comrades were im-
ressed by such flights of eloquence.

At last came the day of departure. Nearly everything
ad been packed into the wagon the day before. Old Rover
ould go West too, trotting along beside the wagon or be-
eath it, but sorrowfully the children carried the family cat
) the house of a nearby neighbor who had promised her a
ood home because there was no way of taking her with
hem and besides "it is bad luck to move cats." Probably
everal friends came over early to see the emigrants off. The
ast box and bundle was packed in the wagon box and the
hildren climbed to their seats on rolls of bedding beneath
he canvas cover which had been looped up on either side
) that they might view the landscape. Then the husband
nd wife climbed to the spring seat and, followed by the
nal goodbyes and good wishes of the assembled neighbors

and with old Rover barking excitedly and capering about the wagon, out toward the mysterious West drove this family of pioneers.

Perhaps in most cases the husband kept his eyes steadfastly fixed on the road ahead and the children chattered excitedly, but we can believe that it was a very unusual wife who did not look back and wipe her eyes with her handkerchief as the old home which she had loved and helped so much to create faded into the distance. One who has himself journeyed west in a covered wagon and who has lived beside a road along which many migrating families have passed with the husband and wife sitting on the spring seat, and three or four children peeping out from beneath the brown, travel-stained cover, has never had any doubt as to which was the tragic figure in each such little family group. It was never the man, going out into a new region of free land and what he felt were great opportunities. It was not any of the children, for to all of them such a journey was one continuous picnic. Always the tragic figure was the woman sitting by her husband's side going away from home and church and old friends and all those little things which mean so much more to a woman than they can ever mean to a man—yet cheerfully and willingly going with those she loved to a far-off country. How many times had she packed away beneath the wagon cover, among the tools and household goods, two or three pictures, some lace curtains, a white tablecloth and napkins, a few choice pieces of glass, china, or silver, a few packages of flower seeds and some roots of the old rose bush by the window—packed away with tender loving hands in moist earth to be transplanted into the alien soil of a new home which as yet existed only in her dreams.

Probably the husband, knowing the desperate need for space, had urged that such useless things should be left behind. Perhaps he had asserted that they would be out of place in the crude frontier society of which they must for

many years be a part, but the wife usually had her way and he was right. It was only the possession of a few such little treasures that sustained many a homesteader's wife through the cruel first years of life on a prairie claim, because these things represented to her at once a memory of her own old home, where she had a great pride in these possessions, and the hope of a time in the future when she would have a home into which these things would properly fit.

The journey westward might be long but as a rule it was a happy one. When the edge of the great prairies was reached the character of the farms and houses began to change. Log cabins gave place to structures of stone or lumber. Then the distance between houses lengthened as they entered the more thinly-peopled region. When they saw the first sod houses and dugouts they realized that they were truly in a new land and the sight of the first prairie dogs convinced the children that the real West had been reached at last. Finally, they came only to scattered settlements with long stretches of unoccupied land between, and here a tract of 160 acres was chosen and their long trek was at last ended.

Many factors were considered in choosing the land upon which to settle. Most important of all was fertile soil, but distance to railroad, the possible source of a supply of water, and of firewood and timber for framing a habitation all had to be considered. Also, it was desirable not to be too far from neighbors and to locate in an area where others were likely to settle in the near future so that it would be possible to have a school, church, and perhaps a store. More, perhaps, than the woodland pioneer, did the prairie settler hope for the rapid peopling of the region about him. This may have been due in part to the bigness and loneliness of the land. Or perhaps it was partially a hope for increased land values that were certain to come with more population, or merely the eager desire to see his own courage and faith justified and the region grow quickly to a thickly-peopled and prosperous region.

The preliminaries of visiting the land office and making entry of the tract chosen if it were a homestead, or of arranging with the railway land department for the purchase and first payment if it were railroad land, did not usually take long. Then came the building of a home and the task of creating a farm from a tract of virgin prairie.

As has been indicated, by no means all or even a majority of the prairie pioneers built and lived in sod houses. Only in localities where the soil is of firm texture with its particles firmly bound together by the roots of a thick coat of grass can a sod house be built. In areas of sandy soil covered by bunch grass, some other type of construction is necessary. Like the forest dweller, the prairie settler utilized for his house the material which he had available. In some cases it was stone, in others sod, in still others rough lumber. In many instances, the home was a dugout, or half dugout, partially underground but usually with the sides built up sufficiently to admit of two small windows.

Ordinarily, the cover was removed from the wagon and used as a tent while the first home was constructed. If it were a sod house, long ribbons of sod usually eight to ten inches wide were cut into blocks about eighteen inches long, walls were made of these with spaces left for a door in front and windows on either side. These spaces were framed with rough boards to hold the windows and door. A fireplace was usually put at one end of the structure with the chimney also built of sod. The earthen floor was beaten hard and smooth, and the roof, supported by the heavy ridgepole which extended the entire length of the building, was made of blocks of sod resting on willows or rushes placed on poles extending like rafters from the ridgepole to the side walls. Properly made, a sod house would last for several years, though some repairs might from time to time be necessary.

The dugout was often constructed by excavating a rectangular space in the side of a low hill and building up the

Starting Life in a Sod House in Oklahoma in the Nineties.

ront portion with sod, stones, or short logs. Its interior liffered little from that of the sod house. In some instances tone was available to build the walls of the new home and n others the settlers had enough money to purchase lumber or a crude box dwelling of one or two rooms made of twelve-nch boards with the cracks between them covered by nar-ow strips of lumber. Such a house had a shingle roof and a loor but the great majority of people did not have sufficient unds for such a luxurious dwelling. The first home of the ma-ority in many areas was either a sod house or dugout.

Once the home was finished and the scanty possessions noved inside and bestowed to the best advantage, the settler et to work at the task of improving the farm and at the ame time providing a living for his family. Sod was broken nd harrowed, a little crop and a few fruit trees planted, helter provided for the livestock, and arrangements made or water and fuel.

From the very first the settler was acutely conscious of he wide differences between his present environment and his ormer one. The most impressive thing about the prairie was he prairie itself. A young man born and bred among the ooded hills of Arkansas once went out to western Okla-oma to visit his brother and reached his destination late t night. The next morning his brother conducted him out-de and said: "Well, Bill, what do you think of the coun-y?" Bill gazed for a full minute at the wide expanse of reen prairie stretching out on every side to meet the purple orizon before he replied: "I don't rightly know, Sam, but looks to me like the Lord or somebody else has done the est job of clearin' here I've ever seen!"

How to live in a region almost completely devoid of mber was a major problem. For the first time the settler alized the value of the forests and often yearned for just a w of the trees which he had so wantonly destroyed. Wood r fuel was scarce and must often be eked out by the use of

cow chips or twisted hay. The few timbers required for fram ing the sod-house home must be hauled for many miles. Th matter of enclosures was a problem. Locust or Osage orang seeds were planted about the fields and pasture lands but i would require some years for the young sprouts to grov sufficiently to form a hedge and in the meantime the horse and even the milk cows must be picketed out on the prairi or in some cases herded by one of the children throughou the day and driven up each night to a small corral made o poles often hauled from some distant ravine, or tract of lan too rough for farming.

Securing water for domestic use and for the livestoc was also likely to be difficult. Regretfully, the settler though of the cold, flowing springs of his former homeland or of th shallow well near the log-cabin door from which an ampl supply of cool water was drawn by means of a bucket an sweep or with rope and pulley. Springs on the prairie plain were few and far between and while, in some localities, goo water might be had by digging a well to the depth of thirt feet or less, there were many other regions where it wa necessary to drill for hundreds of feet before a supply of wat was reached. Out on the high plains of western Texas a se tler was encountered who was hauling water in barrels fro a source nine miles from his home. Asked why he did n put down a well, he replied that he had tried it but had d cided that it was just as near to water one way as anoth and he preferred to bring his horizontally rather than pe pendicularly! Also in many large areas of the Southwest th water secured from wells was so impregnated with gypsu as to make it very distasteful and in some cases wholly un for household use.

The prairie pioneer also quickly discovered that he mu adjust to new climatic conditions. Nature worked on a gra scale. Long periods of drought were followed by torrenti rains. The summers seemed intensely hot and the winte

vere often very cold. Then, too, there was the wind which eemed to blow eternally and often proved most nerve-acking, especially to the women.

In addition, he found that he must revise his former con-eptions as to distance. The nearest railroad town was likely o be forty or fifty miles away and from it must be transported nost supplies. Even the little frontier store might be six to en miles distant and the nearest neighbor at least a mile or nore away. No longer was the settler's horizon bounded by he distance that he could easily walk. Trips to the railroad, o the store or little hamlet, or even to the homes of any but he nearest of neighbors must be made on horseback or by vagon. This ordinarily meant the acquiring of another horse)r two, a better saddle, and far wider contacts than had been :nown in the past.

Even today the resident of the prairie plains has a con-eption of what constitutes distance that is puzzling to the ural or small town people of the East. Often he may drive orty to eighty miles to attend a show, for a few hours' shop-)ing, or to have dinner with a friend. A traveler across wes-ern Texas suddenly remembered that he had a cousin living omewhere in that portion of the state and stopped at a anchman's house on the remote chance of securing some nformation as to this relative. "Could you tell me where im Blevins lives?" he inquired of the old cattlemen sitting)n the front porch. "Sure can, stranger," was the reply, "he ives exactly ninety-five miles straight down this road and)n the right hand side, in a two-story white house with a)ig cottonwood tree in the front yard. You can't miss it!"

Undoubtedly the prairie settlers were also affected by ttitudes and viewpoints of those who made up the pastoral ociety which in many cases they came to displace. Unlike he woodland pioneer who found the region occupied only)y an occasional Indian, the plains dweller came into con-act with the ranchman and was doubtless influenced by the

range rider's indifference to money and distance, as well a his buoyant cheerfulness, youthful spirit, and light-hearte attitude. This is another story, however, which has alread been told and would require an exclusive monograph for an full discussion. At any rate the prairie pioneer felt at leas that his viewpoint had been broadened by the bigness of th wide land in which he had settled. He felt that he was doin things worthwhile and was distinctly sorry for his ol neighbors farther east. He believed that they were crampe by a narrow life and earnestly urged that they come out an join him in the development of a new country.

The sod-house dweller also soon found his food habit radically changed. His prairie land could easily be prepare for wheat and this rather than corn became his staple bread stuff. Bacon and pork were common but grass-fed beef ap peared on his table far more often than formerly. Wild gam was still an important addition to his food supply but in stead of squirrels, pheasants, or venison, it was likely to b prairie chickens, plovers, curlews, or in some cases antelope The garden supplied vegetables but the newly planted or chard would not come into bearing for years, and the mouth of the settler and his family often watered as they though of the luscious blackberries and strawberries, or the succulen pawpaws and persimmons that grew so plentifully in th woods of the old homeland or of the apples, peaches, an pears produced by their trees planted in a sheltered spot nea the log cabin which they had left behind.

Lack of fruit was one of the real hardships of the sod house frontier but the ingenious pioneers sought substitute so far as possible. Watermelons and cantaloupes often grew in astonishing fashion. Tomatoes, rhubarb, and several type of small melons known as pomegranates, or "poor man' apples" were common. Pies were made from pie melons an preserves from citron melons or watermelon rinds, and pump kin butter or even a marmalade made from cantaloupes ap

eared on many tables. Trips were made to the sand hills ordering the nearest river to gather wild plums or grapes rom which were made jelly and preserves, so far as the canty supply of sugar permitted. On the whole, the sod- ouse pioneers seldom lacked food, though it might be oarse and lacking in variety. Yet with milk and butter, eggs, nd fried chicken now and then—mostly then—they were easonably well fed.

Perhaps the most significant change in the life of the an who migrated from the log-cabin frontier to that of the od house was his enormous increase of leisure. In his old ome he had a job three hundred and sixty-five days in the ear and three hundred and sixty-six in leap year. Land had o be cleared, sprouts cut, stumps grubbed out, rails split, nd new buildings erected from the abundance of material at and. All such tasks were in addition to the ordinary labor f plowing, planting, cultivating, and harvesting plus the aily chores of living. Out on the wide prairie the first few onths were busy ones while he was building a home, erect- ng a shelter for domestic animals, and plowing the prairie od. When this had been done, however, long hours of labor very day were no longer necessary or profitable. If he were cated forty to fifty miles from a railroad town there was ttle need to grow crops for sale. Even when wheat was a ir price at the market centers, it brought very little at the ontier railroad town due to the long haul by rail and the igh freight rates. Any surplus grown yielded slight returns nd besides, for the first few years, drought, hot winds, grass- oppers, green bugs, and the scanty yield of newly-turned sod ept the surplus down to a minimum. Under such circum- ances it is not surprising that the settler merely practiced bsistence farming, seeking only to provide a living of sorts r his family while he "held down his claim" and waited opefully for the coming of a railroad bringing nearer mar- ts, more settlers, increased land values, and all the good

things of civilization. Long, leisurely trips to the railroa or for wood might be necessary but of hard labor, to whic he had once been accustomed, there was very little.

Unfortunately this did not apply to the mistress of th sod house. For her there were still the daily tasks of cookin sweeping, washing clothes or dishes, mending, caring for th children, and all that work of women which it has been sai "is never done." Life on the prairie frontier was hard f women and one can sympathize with the woman newly a rived in western Texas who wrote to her sister back in Te nessee: "Texas seems like a good country for men and do but a mighty hard place for oxen and women."

While the prairie wife did not have as much leisure her husband, it seems probable that life in this new land w not without its advantages even for her. Back in the o home, particularly in the South, the average woman, reco nizing the heavy toil of her husband, sought to relieve hi of some of the labor often recognized as properly "a man work" and took over most of the care of the garden, chic ens, and cows. She felt with some reason that a man who h split rails all day should not be expected to milk three or fo cows at night or feed and care for the chickens, and so chee fully did this herself, only claiming as her reward the "butt and egg money" if there should happen to be any. Wi equal cheerfulness, she planted and cultivated the garde only asking that her husband plow the land and make ready for planting. Unless such habits had become too deep ingrained, there was likely to be some readjustment on t sod-house frontier of this division of labor. Here the man the house was likely to use some of his abundant spare ti to do the milking, gardening, and at least helping with t poultry.

Also the clean pure air of the prairies promoted goo health. Seldom was there any malaria, commonly known "chills and fever" such as was all too common in portio

f the woodland region, and strong healthy children, free
) run wild on the open prairie, required comparatively little
ıre. In addition the prairie settler's wife was largely relieved
f such labor as making soap or hominy, grinding sausage,
ndering lard, picking berries in the woods, or weaving rag
ıgs which had at times seemed all too common tasks of
aily life in the old home. So, on the whole, she too perhaps
id less hard work than formerly, though not to the same
egree as her husband.

The effects of this more abundant leisure upon the cul-
ıral and social pattern of the sod-house frontier were soon
pparent. Hard labor from dawn to dusk ceased to be re-
arded as a virtue and people no longer felt it necessary to
pologize for taking time to go fishing or hunting or for
)ending long hours at the country store or tiny prairie town.

Social activities were promoted. There was much visit-
ıg of neighbors and friends and many picnics, parties,
ances, fish fries, barbecues, and meetings for the purpose
f singing. A little schoolhouse was built of sod or rough
ımber and a teacher hired to conduct school for three or
)ur months each year. This schoolhouse soon became a
)cial center. Here were held box suppers, pie suppers,
ıurch and Sunday school. A literary and debating society
as organized, usually giving a program twice a month.
very holiday was celebrated with enthusiasm—the Fourth
f July with a picnic and Christmas with a community
hristmas tree. New friendships were formed and among the
oung people romances began to blossom. Such social ac-
vities did not hinder work too much for apart from "hold-
ıg down the claim" and watchfully waiting for the country
) grow up, there was comparatively little useful work to
e hindered.

That some years of virtually enforced leisure often af-
ected the habits and outlook of the people was inevitable.
ears later when, due to the coming of railroads and markets,

some farmers had become prosperous enough to employ addi tional help, it was a common saying: "If you want a gooc farm hand, get you a young fellow from the woods of Ar kansas or Missouri. He'll make you a fine hand for the firs year or two but as soon as he's learned the ways of thi prairie country, he'll get just like these boys that have growi up here." Undoubtedly, there was some element of truth ir this.

While the prairie claim did not always afford the settle steady profitable employment, there were such tasks as plant ing trees or building an addition to his sod-house home by which he could utilize some of his spare time. Then, too since no labor could be found in his own community, h might in time of stress or distress leave the family at hom for a month or so while he took the wagon and team an drove east to a more thickly settled region to pick cotton o work in the harvest fields, thereby earning enough money t provide shoes, clothing, and groceries for his little floc during the coming winter.

Enough has been said to make it apparent that the sod house frontier was very different from that of the woode region from which many of its people came. Topography soil, climate, vegetation, remoteness from market, and th bigness of the land all combined to form a new economic an social pattern of life which America had formerly neve known. It was a good life, on the whole, and not withou its attractive features for these settlers were a great people The humble home was, as a rule, always kept neat and clean Flowers were planted in beds beside the sod-house door an the windows were framed with morning-glories or othe vines. Family ties were close while hospitality and neigh borly kindness were universal. On Sunday morning the chil dren were washed and dressed in their pitifully poor bes clothes and the day was one of rest and recreation. Live were motivated by a simple but deep and sincere spiritua

An Oklahoma Homesteader and His Family in the Nineties.

faith which to most people was literally "a rock in a wrong land, a shelter in the time of storm." In prosperity and adversity alike it led them on as a pillar of cloud by day and of fire by night. Remote from hospitals, doctors, or even medicines on those rare occasions when a child fell ill, what was the pioneer mother to do? She could only administer such home remedies as might be at hand and, if these failed, put her trust "in the Great Physician who can heal all diseases."

All of this applies to the typical settler of the better class. There were trashy people and even near-degenerates on both the log-cabin and the sod-house frontiers and of these a few authors have written books in the name of realism that have attracted wide attention. Such writers have mistaken facts for truth. The conditions and the people they have described may have existed but they were very exceptional and their descriptions are untrue in the larger sense of the word.

The period of the sod-house frontier was of short duration. Railroads were rapidly penetrating the western prairies, their builders encouraged by the level nature of the land and the comparatively cheap cost of construction. Towns sprang up mushroomlike along their lines, to which flocked men eager to erect elevators, and mills, or to establish stores, banks, and other business enterprises. More settlers poured in and the ranchmen either turned to stock farming or drifted farther west to lands too arid or rough for successful crop growing. With markets close at hand, the settler sowed a larger acreage of wheat and a bounteous crop enabled him to erect a two or three-room house of lumber to replace the crude structure that had been his first prairie home. Successful farmers of the Middle West came out on excursions promoted by the railroads and were so much impressed that they promptly sold their high-priced lands and returned with money to buy these cheaper ones and to erect commodious homes and barns.

The original settler sought to follow their example.

With the proceeds of two or three more good crops and all too often with the aid of a mortgage, he too built a big white house and red barn and purchased more farm machinery which the mechanical and industrial pioneers so soon made available. Barbed wire came into universal use, deep-well drilling machines and windmills provided an adequate water supply. The old "sod buster" was replaced by a gangplow, drills, binders, headers, and eventually combines came into general use. The internal combustion engine brought in cheap automobiles and tractors. Rural mail delivery and telephones became common. Some of the busy small towns grew to the stature of little cities, the road over which the covered wagon jolted westward was widened to a broad highway and the old-time pioneer life passed into the realm of things that used to be.

Just as a well-built log cabin will endure almost indefinitely while the life span of any sod house is but a few years, so did the log-cabin frontier, together with all that it represents, persist for many generations while that of the sod house quickly disappeared. Even today one may find in certain remote districts of the Appalachian highlands or in the hill regions of Oklahoma, Arkansas, or Missouri, families living in log houses and little communities in which conditions are strangely reminiscent of the woodland frontier of nearly a century ago. On the western prairies, however, one is likely to search in vain for a sod house or dugout or for a social and economic order resembling that of this same region in the latter part of the nineteenth century.

Though the frontiers of the log cabin and the sod house are largely gone and the pattern of life which each produced is only a memory, their influence still lingers and is of real significance to this new America of ours. For it takes no great stretch of imagination to make us believe that some of the qualities shown by our men all over the world in the bloody conflict that has just closed may be in part due to that

heritage of courage, resourcefulness, stamina, hardihood, and spirit developed on these frontiers of other days. It may be urged that a majority of the men in our armed forces were born and bred in towns and cities. Yet it is certain that the forebears of a large part of our urban population were rural people lured to the city by what seemed greater opportunities and not a few of these came from one of these two frontiers.

Whether or not one accepts the idea that frontier characteristics persist as a cultural heritage long after the conditions which produced them are gone forever, few will deny that these pioneers had certain qualities or characteristics that America will need in the crucial years that lie ahead. Very much shall we need the courage, patience, persistence, energy, and industry of the log-cabin dwellers, the buoyant optimism, breadth of vision, and belief in the future of the prairie settlers, and the tolerance, kindness of heart, and deep spiritual faith of both. In the words of your state's greatest son, "fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray" that the ideals and qualities of heart and mind of these pioneer peoples may be ours as we face the future and the problems of a stormy and unstable world.

ALSON J. STREETER—AN AGRARIAN LIBERAL

BY ALFRED W. NEWCOMBE*

I

IN the course of American political history the presidential campaign and election of 1888 now hold a diminishing interest and importance. In these two qualities of interest and importance, that campaign will not bear comparison with the first elections of Jefferson, Jackson, Lincoln, Cleveland, McKinley, Wilson, or Franklin D. Roosevelt. Probably nothing new can be said about Cleveland and Harrison, the leading contestants in 1888, about the tariff issue which divided them, or about the result of their campaign.

But it is commonly forgotten that six other party candidates entered that race. These six others were Gen. Clinton B. Fisk of New Jersey for the Prohibition Party, James L. Curtis of New York for the American Party, Albert E. Redstone of California for the Industrial Reform Party, Belva Lockwood of Washington, D.C., for the Equal Rights Party, Robert H. Cowdrey of Illinois for the United Labor, and Alson J. Streeter, also of Illinois, for the Union Labor Party. Perhaps few of the better informed students of our history will remember anything about these candidates or the issues they raised. The *Dictionary of American Biography* contains brief accounts of only two of the six—General Fisk and Belva Lockwood. They seem now to have been as minor prophets

* In addition to those individuals and institutions hereinafter named, the writer acknowledges his obligations to Mrs. A. Benton Weinberg, Mrs. Ralph Streeter, Dr. Paul M. Angle, Curtis Wynn, J. Orton Finley, E. S. Stickney, John M. Lowrie, and Dr. Frederic R. White; to the officials of Knox and Mercer counties; to the publishers of the *Galesburg Register-Mail* and the *Aledo Times-Record*; to the Galesburg and Aledo public libraries, and to the Newberry Library of Chicago.

crying in a wilderness, with no immediately effective language but a somewhat stifled cry. Yet they spoke not alone for themselves and their intimate party associates; they spoke for groups of citizens less effectively organized than were those of the two major parties, and for those who agreed with them in principle, though not to the extent of throwing away a vote. And the issues they raised, like dissenting opinions of our Supreme Court Justices, have exerted a lasting influence upon our later political thought and action.

Some time since, and in quite another connection, the writer's attention was drawn to the candidacy of Alson J. Streeter. He had been a student at Knox College, but the alumni records contain only his name as a former student. No serious consideration was given by the college to its alumni records until some years after his death. Fortunately now, at Knox, and at most similar institutions, the value of such records both for the institution and for American social history is fully recognized. These details of Streeter's life have been assembled primarily for reasons of local interest. Admittedly incomplete, they have been submitted for publication not so much for the purpose of giving him decent sepulture in a historical journal as with the hope that additional information may soon be made available by others concerning Streeter and his equally forgotten associates or rivals.

II

Alson Jenness Streeter was born on January 18, 1823, in Rensselaer County, New York. His father, Roswell Streeter, was a native of Massachusetts and his mother, Eleanor Kenyon Streeter, a native of Rhode Island. He was the first-born of a family of eight or nine children. In the record of his later career one may detect a "rugged individualism," in part the possible heritage from eighteenth-century New England ancestors and in part the natural product of years spent upon the frontier.

Some four years later the family moved to a farm i Allegany County, but in 1836 they came to Illinois and set tled at what is now Lee Center in Lee Center Township o Lee County.[1] There they built a log house on the edge of Inle Grove which afforded some protection from winter storms And there young Alson spent the next ten years of his youth

The region of Illinois to which the family had come wa then only sparsely settled. Mr. and Mrs. Adolph Bliss ar said to have moved into Lee Center Township in 1834. Mrs Bliss was the first white woman in the township and th second in the county. For a year they had no nearer whit neighbors than those in Dixon, about ten miles distant. Bu nearby were camped some two hundred Indians awaiting supplies and government payments before moving to Counci Bluffs. After 1834 the number of settlers steadily increase with arrivals from the East, even from England and from France. Peter Cartwright preached there in 1836, and a Methodist Church—perhaps also a Baptist—was starte within a year. The first schoolhouse was erected in 1838.

The Streeters must have belonged in the category o squatters, for the lands on which they had settled were no open to sale until 1844. By July 10, 1837, enough squatte families had established themselves in the neighborhood to warrant the formation of an association for government under a plan of seven articles for the adjustment of their differences and the protection of their claims. The first settlement

[1] Concerning this date, 1836, there seems to be some uncertainty. It is the date given in H. H. Hill & Co., pub., *History of Mercer and Henderson Counties* (Chicago, 1882), 769, and in the obituary notices of Nov. 26, 1901, and later dates, published in the *Aledo Democrat*, *Aledo Times-Record*, *Galesburg Republican-Register*, *Chicago Inter Ocean*, and *Chicago Record-Herald*. But William A. Lorimer, ed., *History of Mercer County* (Chicago, 1903), 710, says that Streeter came to Illinois in 1825. A. C. Bardwell, ed., *History of Lee County* (Chicago, 1904), 667, gives the date as 1834, and W. R. Brink and Co., pub., *Illustrated Atlas Map of Mercer County, Illinois* (n.p., 1875), 31, as 1835. But Anna E. Woodbridge, "Lee Center," in Inez A. Kennedy, pub., *Recollections of the Pioneers of Lee County* (Dixon, 1893), 382-83, quotes Alson J. Streeter as writing: "My father made a claim on the land on which Lee Center is situated in the year 1833. In the following year we moved from Allegheny County, New York, to near the claim. . . . I was then 13 years old and the eldest of seven boys." Since it is, however, clearly established that he was born in 1823 and would not have been 13 until 1836, it seems safe to assume that these sentences were either carelessly written by him or contain typographical errors as they now stand.

n Lee Center Township was known as Inlet, but the village of Lee Center was not laid out until 1846. In this township Roswell Streeter improved his claim of 160 acres and had it officially recorded at a later date when the government survey had been completed and the land was offered for sale at the land office in Dixon. Still later he sold that part on which Lee Center now stands and gave additional land for the erection and maintenance of an academy.[2]

But it became for a time an undesirable, even a dangerous location in which to establish a home and bring up a family. As the population of Lee Center Township increased, some of the settlers became connected with a band of robbers who were then spreading terror over northern Illinois. The town of Inlet became a place of meeting for thieves, counterfeiters, fence-men, and murderers, and one of the houses there served as the local headquarters for the gang. At one time this gang seemed to include a majority of the neighbors and even a number of the township officers. Law-abiding citizens who tried to gain legal protection or to recover stolen goods were threatened with anonymous letters. However, by forming a vigilance committee these citizens suppressed or drove out of the county the leaders of the gang and were able after 1845 to maintain law and order.[3]

Concerning his early schooling in Inlet, or Inlet Grove, as it was often called, Alson J. Streeter later wrote:

> I well remember the first school house and the time it was built in the old Inlet Grove. It was in the edge of the timber and pretty well hidden from view by a hazel thicket on Mr. Bliss' land, Geo. E. Haskell teacher. T'was made of logs, cracks chinked and filled with mud, floor of split logs, fire place on one side, chimney outside made of rough stone, and split logs for seats. We lived a mile away, through the grove part way. We had to cross a small creek on the way with no bridge. Whenever the creek was over the banks, I would pull off my shoes and wade

[2] For this and additional information concerning Lee Center Township, consult Bardwell, ed., *History of Lee County*, 677-80; Kennedy, pub., *Recollections of the Pioneers*, 379-83; Frank E. Stevens, *History of Lee County, Illinois* (Chicago, 1914), I:369-92; and William D. Large, *Early Lee County* (Chicago, 1918), 83 ff.

[3] For further material, consult the previously cited references to Lee County.

through, then on to school, holding my book before me to make up fo lost time. For Mr. Haskell had promised the one who "left off head" th most times during the term, fifty cents. I attended school two winte quarters before leaving for Galesburg.[4]

It may with reasonable safety be inferred that he did no win the fifty cents. No tradition has developed that Alson Streeter was a brilliant or a bookish student, one who at tracted attention for original insight or bright sayings. Per haps his thoughts and abilities were otherwise engaged. I most respects his life probably differed little from that of th majority of boys then living on farms in a frontier commu nity. There was always plenty of manual labor to be per formed. He early developed a habit of industry which h maintained throughout his life. But he found recreation an profit in fishing, hunting, and trapping in which he is sai to have met with notable success. He obtained pelts of mink otter, muskrat, and wolf.[5]

Yet there were some unusual features connected wit young Streeter's life at Inlet Grove. His family prepare charcoal and hauled it some fourteen miles to Grand Detou on the Rock River, where John Deere was then operating blacksmith shop with two forges.[6] For this charcoal the received in cash from fifty cents to one dollar a load in addi tion to needed repairs on the wagon and other farm equip ment. On one of these trips the boy saw for the first time steel plow that would scour. John Deere was making " diamond-shaped steel plow, . . . having a wooden mold board, with a piece of iron fastened on the lower edge for share." Alson told his father about it and the father decide to trade charcoal for such a plow. On a later trip to Gran Detour the plow was bought, and John Deere and young Al son went to a nearby sandbank where the boy hitched oxe

[4] Kennedy, pub., *Recollections of the Pioneers*, 383.

[5] *Chicago Tribune*, March 11, 1891.

[6] For Grand Detour and John Deere, see Milo M. Quaife, *Chicago's Highways, Old a New* (Chicago, 1923), 241; Barge, *Early Lee County*, 31-39; Neil M. Clark, *John Deere* (Molin 1937), 29-38.

the plow and drove it, while the inventor held it to scour, he had then no grinder.[7]

Early in the year 1846, Alson, with some thirteen dollars in his pocket, left his home at Inlet Grove for Galesburg, here, he had been told, there was a manual labor college which a young man without financial resources might hope to gain an education. But he had been somewhat misformed or had drawn an incorrect impression from possibly curate though inadequate information. It had indeed been e purpose of the founders to establish such a school. That evidenced by the charter of 1837 incorporating "Knox anual Labor College." To that extent his impression and pe had some foundation.

But the town and the college were still in their infancy. 1850 the population of the town was less than nine hunred. And in 1846, when Streeter enrolled in the academy, preparatory school, which had been established from the ginning as a necessary adjunct to the college, the total udent body of the college numbered only twenty-six. The ademy, serving for some as the equivalent of high school d for others as a college preparatory school, had two hunred students. But for whatever reason, whether because of e limited opportunities for employment in so small a comunity or because the Galesburg educators were unable to resee the successful methods of modern institutions which mbine manual labor with classroom training, the college iled to measure up to the implications of its incorporated me. The term "manual labor," however, did not disappear m the official title until 1857.

At any rate Streeter was disappointed in that feature of e college. He had to rely on his own initiative in finding ployment. Fortunately he was older than the average of s schoolmates, and he was ambitious, determined, and accustomed to the various types of labor called for upon a fron-

[7] Hill, pub., *History of Mercer and Henderson Counties*, 769-70.

tier farm. For a time he worked as a janitor in one of the c
lege buildings, and he soon established himself in the bu
ness of making shingles on Saturdays and in other free ti
After chopping down trees he cut out shingle-length blo
or sections with a saw, then split these blocks with a f
and maul to the required dimensions, and finally trimm
them with a shaving knife to the proper thickness. For su
shingles there was a local demand. Like many another a
bitious boy working by himself, he was able to do so
studying as he worked.[8]

Fortunately, too, in those early days college life v
relatively simple and expenses were astonishingly sma
Tuition in the academy in 1846 was from $12 to $16 a ye
And in 1848, when Streeter entered the college, tuition v
only $20 a year. In his academy years he roomed at the ho
of one of his schoolmates. Rooms were available in 1848
the Student Hall where he found accommodation for o
$6.00 a year. Board could then be obtained in Galesburg
$1.00 or $1.50 per week.

The extant college records contain no information as
the subjects Streeter studied nor as to his academic achie
ment. But for admission to college standing one was expec
to have some knowledge of English grammar, arithmet
algebra, geography, and Latin, with a little less of Gre
For college freshmen the prescribed curriculum continued
Latin, Greek, and algebra and added geometry, rhetoric, a
a manual of classical literature.

As in most similar institutions of that date, the ma
extracurricular activity at Knox appears to have been c
tered in a literary and debating society. There, in the ea
months of 1846, such an organization had been formed.
was established by charter in May, 1847, under the name
the Adelphi Literary Society, and, with a later rival socie

[8] Kennedy, pub., *Recollections of the Pioneers*, 383; Hill, pub., *History of Mercer and He son Counties*, 769-70.

dered a highly vital contribution to the education of ox men for many years. Streeter became a member of this iety in his freshman year. Its records show that on Novem- 14, 1848, with an associate, he took the affirmative side a debate on the question, "Should the President of the ited States retain the veto power?"

His college career was unfortunately soon terminated. e of the rules of the institution prevented married students m continuing their work for a degree. Streeter had earlier len in love with Deborah Boone, a direct descendant of great frontiersman, Daniel Boone, and was married to on August 10, 1847. It is interesting to recall that the rriage ceremony was performed by the Rev. George Wash- ton Gale, the leading founder of the community and col- e.[9] As a result of this college regulation, which may not ve been in existence at the time of his marriage, Streeter ndoned his studies early in 1849 and with his bride and ers set out for the gold fields of California. For nearly two rs he remained in the West.

It is deeply to be regretted that no further information been found concerning this trip to California or Streeter's periences there. At the close of that period, some time in 1, he returned to Galesburg. What he did during the next ple of years cannot now be determined. But we know that 1853 and again in 1854 he went to California, each time ving a herd of cattle for which there was a definite de- nd, especially in the mining regions. On one of these ves there were some three hundred cows which were sold California for breeding stock. His wife's father or some er member of her family went along as blacksmith. The of footsore animals were treated with an application of and protected from further injury by leather pads tacked o their hoofs. Heifer calves dropped during the trip were

[9] Through no recorded fault of his own, this marriage was terminated by divorce on 2, 1858. He was married a second time on Jan. 10, 1861, to Susan Menold, a popular and nt Mercer County schoolteacher.

sold in California for breeding purposes at the same price
was received for the fully matured cows. Bull calves dropp
on the way were given to the Indians to keep them friend
On both of these remarkable ventures Streeter was success
in reaching his destination and in disposing of his cattle
a profit.[10]

Late in 1854, or early the next year, Streeter returned
Illinois. Knox County tax records show that in 1855 a
again in 1856 he paid taxes on three lots in Galesburg. E
no evidence has been found to show what use he made of t
property, and other records show that during those years t
title to the lots was still in the hands of the college. On Ju
8, 1855, he purchased 240 acres of the northeast quarter
Section 11 in Rivoli Township, Mercer County, at a to
cost of $1,010 and at once began the business of feeding catt
He soon proved to be an expert in the business. He boug
on credit in the autumn, fed prairie grass during the wint
drove the cattle to the railroad for shipping to market
following spring, and sold for cash. With the profits, he p
chased more land and a better grade of cattle. In 1863 he p
chased an additional eighty acres at a cost of $1,150. In 18
he exhibited Durham and Jersey cattle at the Mercer Cou
Fair. And in 1884 he joined with others in forming the Sho
horn Breeders Association of Mercer County.[11]

The exact date of his move to Rivoli Township rema
undetermined, though it was some time in 1855. For
next few years he was strenuously engaged in the devel
ment of his lands and the cattle business. Not until 1860 d
his career begin to acquire interest and importance for s

[10] For this information the writer is indebted to Dr. D. H. Eastman of Aledo, to
E. R. Petrie, whose boyhood home adjoined the Mercer County lands of Streeter and
remembers him very distinctly, and to several members of the Streeter family. In this
nection, see Kennedy, ed., *Recollections of the Pioneers*, 383; *Chicago Tribune*, May 11, 1891,
the obituary notices of Nov. 25, 1901, and later, in *Galesburg Republican-Register*, *Aledo D*
crat, and *Aledo Times-Record*.

[11] Mercer County Records; *Chicago Tribune*, March 11, 1891; I. N. Bassett, *Past and*
ent of Mercer County (Chicago, 1914), I:209-14; Alvin H. Sanders, *Short-Horn Cattle . . .*
United States and Canada (Chicago, 1900), 516-17, reports that on May 25, 1876, Streeter
a total of $14,625 for six purebred Shorthorn cattle.

lents of Illinois political history. At that date he was identified with the Democratic Party, but he favored the war if it became necessary for the preservation of the Union. In this he was no doubt influenced by the patriotic words and conduct of Senator Douglas. He did not join the army, though no record has been found to show that he hired a substitute. Yet he was generous with money and aid for the families of soldiers. He made speeches encouraging enlistments and contributed money to help equip every company of troops raised in Mercer County. At the close of the war he is said to have been the most generous man in the county in contributing to a memorial for Mercer County soldiers who lost their lives in the course of the war.[12]

At a meeting of the county supervisors in 1862, a tax of five cents on each hundred dollars' valuation was levied as a "military fund" for the aid of needy wives and families of soldiers in the field. Streeter, a Democrat, was at that date a member of the county board of supervisors representing Rivoli Township. One of the other members succeeded, through a resolution, in having the fund placed more immediately at the disposal of the supervisors. At an adjourned meeting the next day Streeter introduced the following motion:

> Resolved by the Board of Supervisors that after this date and in connection with the resolution offered yesterday by Mr. Henderson and passed by the board no supervisor be authorized to furnish the families of volunteers with luxuries among which may be mentioned sugar and coffee and fine articles of clothing and utility, except in the case of sickness.[13]

Whatever his motive, whether one of economy or to prevent the employment of charity funds for partisan purposes, we are not informed. The motion was defeated by a vote of eight to three. It apparently had no effect on Streeter's popularity in Rivoli Township as he was a member of the

[12] *Chicago Tribune*, March 11, 1891.
[13] Records of the Supervisors of Mercer County for June, 1862.

board in 1866 and again in 1872 and 1884. The incident de serves mention in this place only because it was cited agains him in 1891 by the *Chicago Times* with the added and ap parently unwarranted statement that his "record shows continued and consistent opposition to the prosecution o the war."[14]

III

Shortly after 1870 Streeter became actively interested i state and national politics. On November 5, 1872, he wa elected to the Illinois General Assembly by Democrats an disgruntled Republicans as the minority representative fro the 22nd District. In Mercer County he received 3,297 vote 1,000 more than his Republican opponents. But in Kno County he received 2,974 votes while his opponents receive over 6,000.[15]

The legislature convened on January 8, 1873. Streeter wa placed on three committees: Education, Agriculture, an Horticulture. During the session he conducted himself wit credit, if not with distinction. He voted in favor of a resolu tion to instruct senators and congressmen to procure a la preventing railroads and other transportation companies en gaged in interstate commerce from making unjust charge and discriminations. He also gave his support to a resolutio favoring protective tariff duties. But he voted against a reso lution referring the question of printing the Governor' message in languages other than English to the judiciar committee for a report on the constitutionality of such print ing. Later, after the committee had submitted a favorabl report, he voted against printing the message in Germa Swedish, and Norwegian. He introduced a bill to amend a existing act for the establishment and maintenance of fre public schools, but his bill reached a second reading only.[16]

[14] *Chicago Times*, March 4, 1891.

[15] *Galesburg Republican*, Nov. 16, 1872.

[16] *Journal of the House of Representatives of the Twenty-Eighth General Assembly of the Sta of Illinois* (Springfield, 1873), *passim*.

He could hardly have chosen a more interesting and tirring time in which to enter politics. The seventies were narked by considerable political unrest. The Republican 'arty was divided on the issue of Grantism. The Democratic 'arty was showing evidence of new life but still lacked the 'igor, acumen, and leadership to take advantage of the Re-)ublican schism. With the collapse of agricultural prosperity n 1868 and 1869 and the rapid decline in the value of farm)roducts and of land, the farmers of the Middle West were noved to take political action. They demanded in state legis-atures and in Congress a more adequate representation and, ibove all, the regulation by law of grain elevator and rail-oad rates. The farmers of Illinois formed clubs and associa-ions to study and protect their interests. The opportunities or service began to appeal to Streeter's active intelligence ind to his high conception of civic responsibility and duty.

Of the farmers' associations the most influential was hat of the Patrons of Husbandry or the Grange. The first Grange in Illinois was founded in 1868, but the organiza-ion developed slowly until 1872 or 1873. At the instiga-ion of a small group of farmers, a county convention was ield at the courthouse in Aledo on January 8, 1873, for the)urpose of starting Granges in Mercer County. Streeter was)ne of these promoters and seems to have been for a time ictively interested in the Grange movement.[17]

Early in 1873 the Illinois State Farmers' Association was formed. It included members of the clubs, county associa-tions, and Granges, though it was sometimes regarded as a rival of the latter organizations. It at once entered politics, gaining control of several counties and aiding in the election of a Supreme Court judge friendly to agriculture and to rate-fixing. Its appeal was strengthened by the financial panic

[17] Bassett, *Mercer County*, I:207. See also E. L. Bogart and C. M. Thompson, *The Industrial State, 1870-1893* (*Centennial History of Illinois*, IV, Springfield, 1920), Chaps. III and IV, and the sources there cited. The *Galesburg Republican-Register*, Sept. 13, 1873, comments that Illinois Grange activities are most fully discussed in the papers of Canton and Macomb.

which began in September of that year. At a state meeting in December it declared that the old political parties had lost the confidence of the people and demanded civil service reform and the enforcement of state laws regulating rates. At the same time it gave some consideration to the issues of tariff and currency and openly manifested Greenback sympathies and preferences. In May of the next year the advisory board of this association issued a call to farmers, mechanics, workingmen, and others to send delegates to a state convention in Springfield, June 10, 1874.[18]

This Springfield meeting, held under the name of the Illinois State Independent Reform Party, was well attended. Streeter was one of the delegates from Mercer County. He had been selected for that purpose at a people's convention in the county on June 1, 1874.[19] The farmers were in a majority, but city workers were well represented. During the early months of 1874, city workers had begun to organize for political action, but so different were the interests and so divergent the viewpoints of the two groups, that it did not prove possible at Springfield to get them fully united. Also in attendance were many professional politicians and candidates for office who had come "to see the convention." Gen. John M. Palmer gave the principal address. He declared that the old parties had outlived their usefulness, denounced the growing power of monopolies, and maintained that the state should control railroads. Speeches by others against inflation and in favor of a sound currency received the approval of apparently only a small minority of the delegates.

At this convention a platform was prepared and adopted. It stressed Greenback demands for the repeal of the National Banking Act and for the issuance of legal-tender currency directly by the Treasury. But it was not limited to purely Greenback theories; it aimed also to express the desires and

[18] Solon J. Buck, *The Granger Movement* (Cambridge, 1913), 75-76, 80-102.
[19] Bassett, *Mercer County*, I:184.

attract the support of large numbers of farmers who may not have favored the idea of an expanding currency. It called for the enforcement of rate-making laws until such legislation had been tested by the courts and for the improvement of inland water routes, perhaps to lessen the monopoly then enjoyed by the railroads. It expressed opposition to further grants of public lands and loans of the public credit to corporations, to the contract system used in public works, and to the granting of free passes by railroads to public officials.[20]

The question of the currency was also raised at the Springfield meeting. A majority of the delegates revealed a lack of sympathy with speeches for sound money. During the remainder of Streeter's political career, the monetary question was one of national interest and importance. In its first phase, the question related to the redemption and withdrawal from circulation of greenbacks. The Eastern banking and financial interests favored such withdrawal; it was obviously to their advantage to do so. But their desire was vigorously opposed by many Midwestern farmers and others on the ground that a reduction of the currency in circulation would lower prices and make it impossible for debtor groups to meet their financial obligations or would compel them to repay considerably more than they had borrowed. The cleavage in economic interest that divided East and West became more sharply defined and disturbing.

In 1873, when Streeter was in the legislature, and during the next three years, members of the Grange and other associations of farmers in eleven of the central and western states began to form state political parties. These parties adopted such names as Independent, Reform, or Anti-Monopoly. They combined a demand for the legislative restriction of railroads with proposals for economy, civil service, and other political reforms. In Illinois an Independent Reform Party

[20] John Moses, *Illinois Historical and Statistical* (Chicago, 1892), II:824-25; Bogart and Thompson, *The Industrial State*, 101-02; *Illinois State Journal*, June 10, 11, 1874, and *Illinois State Register*, June 11, 13, 1874. Both these papers were published in Springfield.

was organized at Springfield on June 10, 1874. At approximately the same time the Independent Party of Indiana came into existence. The later activities of this Indiana party led to the formation of the National Independent Party at Indianapolis in November, 1874. Because of the emphasis it placed upon the currency question, this organization soon became popularly known as the Greenback Party. The Illinois Independent Reform group came to be identified with it in 1875 or early in 1876. Two years later, at a meeting in Toledo, a union was achieved between the National Independent Party and some members of the Labor Reform Party. This Labor Reform organization had been established in 1869 by the National Labor Union. In many respects the union of 1878 was a fusion of two branches of the same general movement. Officially known as the National Greenback Labor Party, this new organization advocated Greenback doctrines, but in addition stressed the importance of new issues, such as an income tax, the formation of state and national bureaus of labor, the prohibition of contract labor, and the exclusion of Chinese immigrants. It attracted some Republican and Democratic support and manifested its maximum strength in the congressional elections of that year.[21]

Streeter became associated with these political movements in 1873 or 1874.[22] But his conversion to the Greenback position was apparently a gradual development. A Greenback convention was held at Decatur on February 16, 1876. He was present and was appointed a member of the committee on permanent organization. He was also chosen as one of two delegates from the 10th District to attend the national convention of the Greenback Party. The platform presented for adoption at Decatur recommended a monetary system in harmony with Greenback principles. During the discussion of this platform, a motion was offered to the effect

[21] Fred E. Haynes, *Third Party Movements Since the Civil War* (Iowa City, 1916), 51-130; Buck, *The Granger Movement*, 80-102.

[22] *Galesburg Mail*, Nov. 25, 1901; *Chicago Record-Herald*, Nov. 28, 1901.

that the interest on registered government bonds should be payable in gold. This motion produced the "wildest excitement." Streeter then argued for conciliation "and said 'he had not yet educated himself up to the theory of paying one promise with another promise,' that 'the people were not ready to abandon the gold standard,' and that the 'convention should make haste slowly.' "[23] His remarks may perhaps be taken to indicate that he had not yet become fully committed to the Greenback theory.

But some time during the next two years he apparently became an orthodox Greenbacker. Evidence to this effect is found in two of his letters written early in 1878. The portions relating to Greenback theory are summarized in the following paragraph:

Money is a creation of law. Anything is money which the law makes money. The government can make a dollar out of ninety cents worth of silver. This the Bland Bill proposes to do. The law makes a greenback dollar worth more than a silver one and gives to a greenback dollar less paying power than to a gold one. I believe gold and silver dollars to be good money when they have been made money by the law. . . . And the Greenback and Labor Party was the first to denounce the fraudulent act of demonetizing silver and to demand its remonetization. The Democratic Party has been unsystematic on the money question.[24]

And on March 23, 1878, he was announced as one of the speakers at a Greenback county convention in Aledo.[25]

[23] *Decatur Daily Republican*, Feb. 16, 17, 1876. This information has been supplied by Dr. Daniel J. Gage of James Millikin University.

[24] The first of these letters, dated Jan. 17, 1878, was addressed to the editor of the *Aledo Record*, and was published in that paper. The exact date of the second letter is not known, but internal evidence indicates a date early in 1878. These letters, with much other material hereafter to be referred to, have been taken from the Streeter Scrapbook made available through the kindness of Mrs. G. R. Beach of San Diego, Calif. Unfortunately the name of the paper and the date of publication have usually been excised from the clipping, though the latter is often, as here, reasonably determinable from internal evidence.

The statements by Streeter should be compared with the admirable summary of Greenback doctrine in Davis R. Dewey, *Financial History of the United States* (New York, 1936), 378-82.

[25] Bassett, *Mercer County*, I:186-87.

The considerations which influenced him to join th Greenback Party can only be guessed at. They were probabl sectional, intellectual (the appeal of the party's monetar theory), economic, and personal. He was a Midwester farmer buying land and cattle, and perhaps operating t some extent upon borrowed capital. His financial record have not been available for estimating his personal interes in the issue. However his sincere adoption of the Greenbac cause can hardly be questioned. Without financial backin and without hope of victory, he twice accepted the thankles task of running for office upon the party's ticket.

On June 13, 1878, he was nominated at Bushnell as th Greenback candidate for Congress from the 10th Illinois Dis trict. This district then included Hancock, Henderson McDonough, Mercer, Schuyler, and Warren counties Streeter was the only nominee considered; he was endorse by acclamation. When he was introduced to the convention "he made a few remarks in which he said he was the frien of the laboring man and the producing classes."[26] The con vention appears to have been rather lukewarm; Schuyle County was not represented and only half of the delegate from Hancock were in attendance. He was easily defeated but he became more widely known, he made contacts witl other Greenbackers, and he acquired experience in campaign ing.[27]

Two years later—on April 21, 1880—the Greenback Labor Party held its state convention at Springfield. Abou two hundred delegates were in attendance, representing o roll call some sixty-two counties. Streeter was present an served as a member of the resolutions committee. His nam was presented to the convention as a candidate for governo

[26] *Macomb Journal*, June 20, 1878, in a column dated June 17. This information has bee supplied by Mrs. Max T. Terrill of Macomb.

[27] Streeter received a total of 3,496 votes, less than one-third of the total for the winner Benjamin F. Marsh. He ran strongest in Mercer County with 881 votes and weakest in Schuy ler County with 266 votes. The election returns for this campaign, as for those of 1880 an 1888, have been made available by the office of the Secretary of State, Edward J. Barrett.

'by Dr. Alphabetical Washington, jr., the colored member rom Chicago. There were no other candidates for the nomiıation." His acceptance speech was summarized in the *Illiıois State Journal* on April 22, 1880, as follows:

> In returning thanks he said he did not know why he was chosen. . . ınless it was because he was one of the laboring classes. He had been eared in poverty and want, and knew the needs of the producing classes. He had helped make the railroad laws, which were now a dead-letter, and f he was elected, they would be enforced. But he would be just as ready o enforce the laws to protect the rights of the railroads. What the people vanted was equity. He fully believed in the principles of the Greenback .abor party, and enunciated his position upon the financial question in ccordance therewith. He did not believe in fighting over the issues of he late war, for the old parties had a patent upon them. [Applause.] He ıad not sought the nomination, but he now wanted their support, and vanted them to rally around him the industrial classes of Illinois.[28]

To the usual Greenback statements of monetary policy, he platform adopted by this convention added a demand hat "the free, unlimited coinage of gold and silver be esablished by law." The currency question was entering upon he second phase—that of the coinage of silver. On the ques- ion of railroads and inland waterways the platform restated lder Grange recommendations with some modifications and dditions. But it also contained several new features probably ndicative of labor influence within the party. Among these ew features was a declaration that "as labor is the source of ll wealth and the foundation of all prosperity, it should be o protected as to equalize its burdens and insure a just disribution of its results." And based upon that declaration vere demands for "rigid legal control" of the hours and conitions of labor, the establishment of a bureau of legal statisics, the inspection of factories, mines, and workshops, and he restriction of the labor of children under fourteen years f age. Moreover, it included a demand for "a free, fair, and

[28] This information, with the summary of Streeter's speech, has been supplied by the linois State Historical Library. According to one of his friends, Streeter accepted this nomiation only because his party demanded it. *Chicago Tribune*, Feb. 3, 1891. The *Galesburg Republican-Register*, June 19, 1880, says that he perhaps expected or hoped to be nominated also by ıe Democrats.

absolutely secret ballot, subject to no intimidation by bul dozers or employers."[29]

The subsequent campaign and election widened hi political contacts and experience and again tested his abilit to bear defeat. During the course of the campaign he doub less made a considerable number of speeches. Occasional re erences to them were contained in the *Chicago Tribune*, a opposition paper, which naturally reported in full the ac tivities of only the major candidates, though it was su prisingly generous in the space accorded to James B. Weave the Greenback candidate for President. At a meeting, for ex ample, in Clinton, Illinois, on August 30, "largely attende by Republicans and Democrats," Streeter made it clear tha he did not expect victory for his party's ticket, but that h hoped to "vindicate" the Greenback doctrines. He spoke a Paxton, September 8, and at Woodstock ten days later. report from Springfield, dated October 11, asserted that i the rural districts he spent most of his time attacking rai road "oppressions and unjust discriminations." Followin a meeting in Centralia on October 18, a report was sent t the *Tribune* stating that he could not hope to win, and ad ing: "Old man Streeter will not draw off now. He is to plucky to withdraw under adversity."[30] The election retur demonstrated the futility of his efforts; he suffered an ove whelming defeat. Shelby M. Cullom, the winner, receive 314,565 votes, while Streeter could claim only 28,898. Eve the defeated Democratic candidate, Lyman Trumbull, a tracted more than nine times the vote of Streeter.[31]

[29] *Chicago Tribune*, Apr. 22, 1880; *Appleton's Annual Cyclopaedia* for 1880 (New Yor 1886), 382.

[30] *Chicago Tribune*, Aug. 31, Sept. 9, Oct. 12, 19, 1880; *Chicago Times*, Sept. 20, 1880.

[31] The counties of the 10th Congressional District gave him much less support for Gc ernor than they had for Congress. In Mercer he lost 298 votes, in McDonough 379, and Schuyler his vote fell to 78.

The counties north of the 40th parallel and those crossed by it, with the exception Macon, the greater portion of which extends considerably south of the parallel, may possib be regarded as the northern half of the state. This half gave Streeter 19,652 votes, slight over 68% of his total. In this half 16 counties gave him 43% of his total and 63% of his nort ern vote. His strength in the north came from Cook, 1235, Rock Island, 1205, LaSalle, 10 Knox, 981, and Henry, 966. Only six northern counties gave him less than 100 votes ea

IV

After the elections of 1880 the Greenback Party carried on its work with diminishing vigor and effectiveness. The party's monetary theories lost some of their earlier appeal. Party members drifted back to the two major political organizations, especially to the Democrats, or became concerned with other interests. A newer issue, the growth and menacing power of monopolies, now attracted the attention of dissatisfied farmers and city workers. This issue was an extension of Granger and Greenback attacks upon railroads to other and related monopolies. It had received a limited expression in the Greenback program of 1880. Four years later it was definitely brought before the voters by the formation of an Anti-Monopoly Party. This party held a national convention at Chicago on May 14, 1884. Streeter was among those who attended the convention. At the suggestion of the party's national committee he was nominated for temporary chairman. This nomination received the unanimous approval of the delegates. Upon taking the chair he made what appears to have been a very brief speech. By combining a report of what he said, as printed in the *Chicago Tribune*, with the account published in the *Chicago Times*, this speech may be summarized as follows:

He thanked the delegates for the honor they had conferred upon him, an honor which he could not accept for himself alone but for the laboring man he had for years tried to represent. He admitted that there were not so many delegates as had been hoped for. But there were as many present as had signed the Declaration of Independence and enough to de-

Putnam, 3, DuPage, 18, Lake, 61, Stephenson, 71, Schuyler, 78, and Boone, 98. From Mercer he received 583 and from Lee, his boyhood home, 225.

In the southern half of the state he received 9,246, just under 32% of his total vote. The only southern counties to give him over 500 votes each were Shelby, 1023, Pike, 834, Jackson, 551, Hamilton, 538, and Marion, 514, a total of 37% of his southern vote. Nineteen southern counties gave him less than 100 votes each. No vote was reported by Monroe or Richland counties. He was especially weak in the extreme southern counties. These returns suggest questions which can be answered only by those who have intimate knowledge of local and county conditions in 1880.

clare the freedom of the American farmer and worker. He knew that some of the delegates lacked the funds for attendance. The railroads had refused to give them the reduced rates that were given to delegates to other conventions. He had come to nominate a president. For that purpose he favored a brief platform opposed to all monopolies, a declaration to the effect that all men are equal before the law, and that the convention believed Benjamin F. Butler to be a fearless and independent man who embodied their ideas. In his opinion that was a good enough platform.[32]

Gen. Benjamin F. Butler, who had been identified with the Greenback movement in Massachusetts, was named as the candidate for President. Two weeks later, May 28, he received a similar nomination from the Greenback Party. But the Anti-Monopoly platform was not as simple or as brief as Streeter thought it might be. He was, however, a member of the committee which drafted it. The platform declared that the "giant monopolies" which control "transportation, money and the transmission of intelligence" should be regulated by Congress. To that end it favored the passage of an Interstate Commerce Bill. On several issues, such as, for example, the graduated income tax, it repeated essentially the Greenback statements of 1880. A new feature was the demand for the direct election of United States senators.[33]

During the national campaign of 1884, Streeter was himself a candidate for office. In a letter to John S. Stevens of Carthage, Illinois, written on July 1, 1884, he made it known that in his opinion there was no opportunity for the development of a third party, that the Democrats were more nearly right than the Republicans, and that the Greenbackers should unite with the Democrats to defeat the Republicans. He indicated his willingness to co-operate with Stevens and

[32] *Chicago Tribune*, May 15, 1884; *Chicago Times*, May 15, 1884.
[33] Edward Stanwood, *A History of the Presidency from 1788 to 1897* (Boston, 1898), 421-23.

thers to that end.[34] Two weeks later the Greenbackers and)emocrats of the 24th Illinois Senatorial District met sep-rately but on the same day in their conventions at Glad-:one, in Henderson County. Each convention appointed a)mmittee to work for a coalition. These committees jointly greed that the Democrats should name the two candidates)r the lower house of the General Assembly while the Green-ackers should name the one senatorial candidate. Streeter ras the choice of the Greenback convention. Then the two)nventions endorsed the three candidates.[35] There is, how-ver, no evidence that Streeter pledged himself, if elected, to nite with the Democrats in caucus or to support their can-idates for state or national offices. But it seems to have been nderstood that the Greenbackers would vote for the Demo-atic candidate for Congress in their district. With this)mbined support Streeter was elected as a senator to the 4th General Assembly.[36]

The legislature convened on January 7, 1885. Streeter was)pointed to the committees on Railroads, Finance, Revenue, :ate Charitable Institutions, Education and Educational ıstitutions, Labor and Manufactures, and Roads, Highways ıd Bridges—seven in all. And on February 18, when he ıtroduced a resolution calling for an investigation of re-)rted mismanagement at the Soldiers' Orphans' Home in ormal, Illinois, he was appointed the chairman of a special)mmittee for that purpose.[37]

During this session he introduced a number of petitions ıd resolutions. Among the petitions it is surprising to find veral from various communities praying for the enactment

[34] Streeter Scrapbook.

[35] *Aledo Democrat*, July 25, 1884; *Monmouth Evening Gazette*, July 16, 1884.

[36] The 24th Senatorial District then included Mercer, Hancock, and Henderson counties. eeter received 6,890 votes, considerably more than half of which came from Hancock unty. Mercer gave him 1,886 votes. He was elected by the small margin of 61 votes. *Oquawka :ctator*, Nov. 13, 1884. This information and many other items have been supplied by the .nois State Historical Library.

[37] The material for this paragraph and for the three following paragraphs has been taken m the *Journal of the Senate of the Thirty-Fourth General Assembly of the State of Illinois* (Spring-d, 1885), *passim*.

of a law to prohibit the manufacture and sale of ol
margarine and other butter substitutes. On February 4
presented a resolution asking that, because of the fricti
between the cattlemen and home builders in Indian Ter
tory or Oklahoma, the senators and congressmen from Il
nois should be instructed to procure legislation opening t
Territory to settlers under the Homestead Laws. This reso
tion later received the endorsement of both branches of t
legislature. But on March 17, his resolution to have work
on the Statehouse done by the day, as far as possible, in or
to provide employment for more workers, was decisiv
rejected. Some of his colleagues then aroused his wrath
accusing him of posing as a friend of labor.[38]

A better appreciation of his political interests and
hopes as a legislator may be obtained from a listing of t
eighteen bills he presented for enactment. They were c
cerned with such matters as fences along the railway lin
impositions upon shippers of hogs, the regulation of p
senger fares upon Illinois railroads, the rates charged
palace and sleeping cars, and the power of the state comm
sion for railroads and warehouses. But these bills were
limited to the railroads—his old foe since Granger days. Otl
proposals for legislation which he submitted dealt with el
tions in school districts, taxation, the exemption of cert
personal property from attachment and sale on execution a
from distress for rent, township insurance companies, cou
fire-insurance companies, liens, the practice of veterin
medicine, horse thieves and other felons, rates of intere
the forming of associations or corporations for manufactu
trade, or any lawful business, and the sale or furnishing
tobacco to minors. Clearly his viewpoint must have been th
of one who knew the grounds for agrarian discontent a
sympathized with the farmer. Even his attitude toward t
sale of tobacco probably reflects rural rather than urban se

[38] *Chicago Tribune*, March 18, 1885.

ient. But the result of his legislative labors must have been omething of a disappointment to him. Of these bills ten ere tabled, two died in committee, and five were rejected y one or both houses. Whether they were badly drawn or ere too liberal for his colleagues is not now determinable. n the case of the one bill concerning school elections another raft was substituted for his, and, receiving his support, was iven passage by the legislature.

The outstanding feature of this General Assembly was ne election of a United States Senator. The contest for that urpose which began on February 13, 1885, between John A. ogan for the Republicans and William R. Morrison for the emocrats, was prolonged until May 18. By that date Morri- on had been dropped and Logan was elected over Judge ambert Tree. The details of the contest which necessitated ver one hundred ballots have already been studied at some ngth and constitute a well-known episode in Illinois polit- al history.[39]

The historian of the contest has, however, made no spe- al effort to explain the position taken by Streeter or the otives which governed his voting. He was involved in its ourse and outcome in a somewhat unusual manner. The gislature was very closely divided along party lines. The epublicans as a unit supported Logan, but the Democrats ere not unanimously for Morrison. Streeter was listed as a reenback-Democrat. His vote was necessary for Democratic uccess. The Greenback Party had no candidate. He had in- icated his preference for the Democratic Party as compared ith the Republican. His election had been made possible y the co-operation of the Democrats of his district. It was rtainly reasonable for them now to expect his support. And o make sure of it, when they nominated Morrison in their arty caucus, they made Streeter a member of the managing ommittee for the balloting.

[39] D. W. Lusk, *History of the Contest for United States Senator before the Thirty-Fourth General sembly of Illinois, 1885* (Springfield, 1885).

Yet, from the very beginning of the contest, Streete manifested and maintained a characteristic independence c thought and action. On February 18 he voted for John Smith and after the balloting was over he said that he had mean to vote for Pocahontas Smith. But there was no candidat by the name of John Smith and Pocahontas Smith was dead.[40] He was evidently not in favor of Morrison and as yet wa uncertain how to vote. Perhaps it would have been wiser fc him not to have voted at all. On only two or three occasion did he vote for Morrison and then not at times when his vot might have made victory a certainty. Sometimes, during th joint sessions for the election of a senator, he was recorde as not present. At other times, even when present, he r frained from voting. He frequently voted for A. E. Stevenson Judge A. M. Craig, and on four ballots, near the end of th contest, for Lambert Tree. But so many of his votes were ca for John C. Black that one is safe in assuming that he wa Streeter's real choice for senator.

Naturally Streeter was subjected to Democratic persua sion and pressure. On one occasion it was reported tha William Brown of Jacksonville was trying to convince hi of his duty to support Morrison.[41] Among the Morriso Papers in the Illinois State Historical Library are three lette which constitute important evidence of such pressure. Th first, written by J. H. Hungate, contains the following stat ments:

> I have just written a letter to my friend Streeter in which I prove my satisfaction, if not to his, that anything short of a cordial support you, as our caucus nominee, . . . will be political suicide for himself.
>
> He declared to me before I left Springfield that while he would r frain from going into the caucus, he would support the nominee. . . .
>
> Streeter is naturally a democrat but wants to carry the Rock Isla Greenbackers on one shoulder. . . .
>
> The democrats have superior claims on Mr. S. which I think he ca

[40] *Chicago Tribune*, Feb. 19, 1885. Colonel Morrison later pointed out that Streeter's vc for John Smith should not have been counted. *Ibid.*, Feb. 20, 1885.

[41] *Chicago Tribune*, March 19, 1885.

ɔt afford to ignore. I have felt it my duty to lay these claims before im.[42]

The second letter, dated March 20 and signed "Blaisell," gives the impression that Streeter regretted his independent voting, and says:

> Mr. Streeter *told me out and out squarely*, that he *would vote for you* just soon as his vote was needed, and that he would work to that *end from is time on*. On this you may *implicitly depend*.[43]

In the third letter, written by A. J. Grover on April 1, as enclosed a copy of a letter Grover had written to Streeter ıe day before, urging him as an old associate in the currency ıd labor reform movement to vote for Morrison.[44]

It is difficult to understand how Blaisdell, for example, ould have been so certain of Streeter's vote without assumg that one of them was guilty of overstatement or mispresentation. Blaisdell did not, however, state when and here his conversation with Streeter took place. If Streeter ere correctly quoted, it is certain that his votes after March quickly belied his words. It appears that his words, if rrectly quoted, must have been uttered prior to March 6. n that occasion he made a fairly long speech, attacking the eneral Assembly for dilatory tactics and adding:

> I believe that King Caucus is here today controlling this election. . I will vote my honest convictions and let the consequences take care themselves. There is one man in this convention who will not bow to ng Caucus. . . . I will not pledge myself to vote for any man. . . . I was cted on a joint ticket of both the Democratic and National parties. . . l I claim that I am bound by no caucus, inasmuch as I was pledged to party, but as a representative of the Greenback party; and I say to my mocratic friends that they have no right to demand my vote for their icus nominee. . . . I have not voted for any man but a Democrat. . . . I going to vote for a Democrat for United States Senator because the mocrats tendered me their support. . . . With this explanation I now t my vote for Gen. John C. Black.[45]

[42] Written from the House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., Feb. 20, 1885.
[43] The italics are Blaisdell's. His full name was Elijah Whittier Blaisdell. This letter of ch 20, 1885, was written from Springfield on Leland Hotel stationery.
[44] Written at his law office at 99 Washington St., Chicago.
[45] *Chicago Tribune*, March 7, 1885. (Bogart and Thompson, *The Industrial State, 1870-1893*, n.42, cites the *Tribune* of March 17 instead of March 7).

This speech was in complete harmony with Streeter' other declarations on the subject. Writing to Hugh Campbe of Keithsburg from Springfield, March 22, 1885, he expresse the opinion that Morrison could not hope to draw enoug Republican votes to be elected, but that General Black coul do so. And he added:

> I expect to be criticized. No man can serve two parties under suc extraordinary circumstances without being criticized. . . . Verily I ha from the beginning been trying to elect a Democratic Senator.[46]

The following summer, on July 20, 1885, in a letter t the editor of the *Rock Islander*, Streeter undertook to explai both his independent voting and the election of Loga Parts of this long letter are summarized below:

Colonel Morrison was too "ultra" a Democrat to dra any strength from the Republican side. The Democrats mad a mistake in naming a man so objectionable to the Greenbac Labor Party, because of his known hard money record, ar to the protectionists and conservative Republicans for h tariff and other views. Colonel Morrison was distinctly th candidate of the Bourbon element of his party. Pruden and good judgment would have told the Democrats to loo for a candidate who could draw the needed Republica vote. . . . Whenever a Democrat says that if I had voted f Morrison at any time, he would have been elected, he eith talks beyond his knowledge or seeks to misrepresent th facts. The Republican success in electing a successor to th Democratic Shaw in the 34th District had much to do wi the defeat of Morrison. Some blame Streeter, but I did n promise to vote with either party. I did say that I wou vote for a Democrat in accord with the principles of th National Greenback Labor Party. Colonel Morrison is n that kind of Democrat. I voted for one who was—John Black. I think I made a mistake in voting for Morrison much as I did. I did so to accommodate my Democrat

[46] Streeter Scrapbook.

riends. Even when I voted with them they still lacked a ote. . . . I am sure that I can stand the results of the whole usiness if the Democrats can.[47]

Under the constitution of Illinois the General Assembly neets every two years and a senator's term of office includes wo sessions of the legislature. In consequence of the consti- utional provisions, Streeter represented his district again in he 35th General Assembly.[48] He was appointed to six com- nittees: Revenue, Municipalities, Public Buildings and Grounds, Horticulture, Mines and Mining, and the State Library. He had also been listed as a member of the com- nittee for County and Township Organization, but the Democrats substituted the name of another senator and penly told Streeter that they did not owe him anything.[49] He presented petitions in opposition to pool-selling, to com- inations of insurance companies for the purpose of fixing ates, and to a proposed change in the statutes abolishing he spring shooting of waterfowl.

More revealing, however, as to the man himself, his nterests and hopes, are the eight bills he introduced for egislative enactment. Judging from their titles, four of these ills—those concerned with impositions upon the shippers f hogs, the fencing and operation of railroads, the preven- ion of extortion by the owners and operators of the palace nd sleeping cars, and with the prohibition of the sale or urnishing of tobacco to minors—were repetitions of bills he ad introduced in the previous Assembly. Of these four the ne prohibiting the sale of tobacco to minors was amended y the Committee on Education and passed by the Senate; he others were tabled or died in committee. A fifth bill— ne to regulate charges on palace and sleeping cars—was vidently related to the one designed to prevent extortion by

[47] Streeter Scrapbook.

[48] This summary of his services is based upon the *Journal of the Senate of the Thirty-Fifth eneral Assembly of the State of Illinois* (Springfield, 1888), *passim*.

[49] *Chicago Tribune*, Jan. 20, 1887.

the owners and operators of such cars, and possibly also to his bill in the previous Assembly regulating passenger fares. Whatever its relationships, the bill was tabled. The remaining three were new in title and content. They were concerned with the sale or circulation of obscene literature, with the protection of females and minors, and with the creation of a state bureau of labor and capital. This last was in harmony with a recommendation in the Anti-Monopoly platform of 1884. The three bills died in committee or were tabled. Whether from the nature of the bills or from his position as a member of a third party unwelcomed by members of the other two parties, Streeter was notably unsuccessful in obtaining legislative enactments.

In its regular daily reports of proceedings in the Assembly, the *Chicago Tribune* refers to three other bills for which that paper gives Streeter the credit. Chronologically the first of these was a bill compelling railroads to construct underground crossings where the tracks ran through pastures and cut off the cattle from their water supply. It appears to have died in committee.[50] The *Tribune* credits him also with the authorship of a bill raising the age of consent in females from ten to fourteen years of age which was unanimously passed by the Senate.[51] A clipping in the Streeter scrapbook indicates that Senators Streeter, Burke, and Bell were the "champions" of this bill. For some unknown reason the bill is not mentioned in the *Senate Journal*. Yet that it was passed admits of no question.[52] The third bill mentioned by the *Tribune* provided that anyone, except a licensed dramshop-keeper or a druggist, who sold less than five-gallon quantities of liquor within two miles of any incorporated town or village, church, schoolhouse, or fairgrounds should be penalized. On March 23, "it came up on third reading and was put on its passage."[53]

[50] *Chicago Tribune*, Feb. 4, 1887.
[51] *Ibid.*, Feb. 3, 25, 1887.
[52] *All the Laws of the State of Illinois passed by the Thirty-Fifth General Assembly* (Chicago 1887), 130.
[53] *Chicago Tribune*, March 24, 1887.

V

With the decline of the Grange as a political factor between 1875 and 1880 and its emphasis upon social activities after 1880, Streeter became interested in the more aggressive Farmers' Alliance Movement. "During the late seventies and eighties a whole new crop of farm orders appeared." Many of these orders were of local significance only; others, such as the Farmers' Mutual Benefit Association of Illinois, were formed to include the farmers of a state. Perhaps influenced by earlier alliances in Kansas and New York, Milton George, the editor of a Chicago farm journal known as the *Western Rural*, established a Farmers' Alliance for Cook County on April 15, 1880. He hoped to create other such alliances and ultimately to unite them in a national organization. Within a few months many local and county alliances were established. The first convention was held in Chicago on October 4, 1880. County alliances were then combined into state organizations in Illinois and a number of neighboring states. But this National Farmers' Alliance, more commonly known as the Northern or Northwestern Alliance, grew very slowly until 1887 or 1888. At the fourth annual convention in 1883, the attendance was so small that the officers were commissioned to hold over until their successors could be elected. During the next two years no annual meetings were held. It never succeeded in becoming a national organization, but was confined to the states of the Midwest and upper Mississippi Valley, except for contacts and interrelationships with the Southern Alliance.[54]

It is impossible to determine precisely when Streeter became a member of the Northern Alliance. At the convention in Chicago on November 11 and 12, 1886, he played a prominent part. On the first day of the convention he was chosen "permanent presiding officer" and made a brief speech which was reported as follows:

[54] John D. Hicks, *The Populist Revolt* (Minneapolis, 1931), 96-104.

> Mr. Streeter . . . said there was something wrong in the present re lations of society. He was not quite in favor of Henry George's ideas an had no sympathy with the Anarchist class. He did not believe that muc had been obtained through labor strikes. Farmers, the speaker continued . . . were growing yearly poorer, while the capitalistic class, especiall the railroads, . . . were making plenty of money. . . . The leading [farm products . . . were grown at an actual loss. . . . Hay and potatoes were th only products on which there was any profit. Farmers were robbed of th fruits of their labor by the capitalistic class, and it was their duty to them selves and their families to organize against the rapacity of capitalisti corporations.[55]

The following day he was elected president of the Alli ance and a very moderate series of resolutions was adopted These resolutions recommended some new policies such a the opposition to violence as a means of redressing the suffer ings of labor, "the union of farmers together with other con servative producers," against anarchists, the promotion o a public school system with the emphasis on practical educa tion, the enforcement of rigid laws against the adulteratio of foods, and the fixing of the protective tariff on the "broa basis of the greatest good to the greatest number."[56] At th meeting in Minneapolis the next year, Streeter presided unti the election of J. Burrows of Nebraska as his successor. Dur ing his presidency of the Northern Alliance, Streeter becam more prominent in agricultural circles beyond the state o Illinois.

In the year 1887 he became involved, in a minor capacity in one action which perhaps made him more widely an favorably known also to city workers and liberals. The un fortunate Haymarket Riot in Chicago on May 4, 1886, an the equally unfortunate trial in the Cook County Crimina Court, resulted in the death sentence for seven of the eigh men accused of responsibility for inciting the murder o

[55] *Chicago Tribune*, Nov. 12, 13, 1886; *Western Rural*, Nov. 20, 1886. There is some un substantiated evidence to the effect that Streeter was elected president of the Alliance in 1884 and that he held the office for three years. But no Alliance convention at which he could hav been elected was held in 1884. See Nelson A. Dunning, ed., *The Farmers' Alliance History an Agricultural Digest* (Washington, D. C., 1891), 225.

[56] *Chicago Tribune*, Nov. 13, 1886.

Policeman Degan and the fatal injuries of several others by their anarchistic doctrines. That death sentence was sustained by the Illinois Supreme Court, and a petition for a writ of error was denied by the United States Supreme Court. But after the initial wave of panic which swept the country into an emotional and undiscriminating demand for vengeance had somewhat subsided, many liberal voices were raised in criticism of the Chicago verdict or in an appeal for executive clemency. Even some prominent conservatives recommended that life imprisonment should be substituted for the death penalty.

Governor Oglesby, finding himself deluged with letters and telegrams for and against the condemned men, set aside November 9, 1887, for a public hearing in Springfield. On that occasion Streeter presented "a petition of the United Labor representatives of the last legislature which was also signed by Democratic and Republican legislators." The petition asked for the commutation of the sentence of the seven men to one of life imprisonment or for a thirty-day reprieve to give public opinion time to develop. In a short speech Streeter urged this commutation on the ground of public policy. It would silence the discontented workingmen who believed these misguided anarchists had been trying to redress the wrongs from which they suffered and would promote the best interests of the society of the country "in view of all the circumstances that surround the case."[57]

(To be continued in the next issue of this publication.)

[57] Henry David, *The History of the Haymarket Affair* (New York, 1936), 440-41; *Chicago Tribune*, Nov. 9, 10, 1887; Streeter Scrapbook.

ILLINOIS, HOST TO WELL-KNOWN NINETEENTH CENTURY AUTHORS

BY ROBERT R. HUBACH

THE reception of visiting British writers in Atlantic Coast cities and the activities of Eastern American authors in their native locales are better known than the literary events of the early Middle West. Ever since its admission into the Union in 1818 Illinois has been an outstanding state; its inhabitants have obtained marked industrial and agricultural prominence, and from the crudest beginnings have built a commonwealth which occupies a high place in the cultural and literary life of the nation. The geographical position of the state, with its fundamentally new and Western spirit, and the fact that Chicago, at present the second largest city in the country, lies within its boundaries, account for much of this pre-eminence. It is not surprising that Illinois attracted many well-known authors to its borders even in its early days. In fact, no fewer than twenty-five well-known British and American writers visited the state during the nineteenth century.

The first Europeans to explore Illinois were the French in 1659, and others followed soon thereafter. The journal of the voyage of Father Jacques Marquette down the Mississippi in 1673 is a narrative of historical importance which is dignified and rich in expression.

Travel narratives are usually the first type of literature produced in a new land, and Illinois was no exception. After France ceded the territory north of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi to Great Britain in 1763, and after the building

of Fort Dearborn, several later explorers and adventurers wrote interesting accounts of life in Illinois. Deserving mention are Elias P. Fordham, author of *Personal Narrative of Travels in Virginia, Maryland . . . and of a Residence in the Illinois Territory: 1817-1818;* Morris Birkbeck, author of *Letters from Illinois* (1818); W. N. Blane, who wrote *A Tour in Southern Illinois in 1822*; John Woods, author of *Two Years' Residence in the Settlement on the English Prairie, in the Illinois Country* (1822); Edmund Flagg, with *The Far West: or, A Tour Beyond the Mountains* (1838); and Eliza W. Farnham, who wrote *Life in Prairie Land* (1847).

It was not until settlements appeared that Illinois attracted other important writers. United States troops marched from Detroit to the present site of Chicago in 1803 and built Fort Dearborn. But in 1812 it was evacuated, and the garrison and settlers were massacred by Indians; the fort was rebuilt after the War of 1812, but was abandoned in 1837, when Chicago, with barely more than four thousand inhabitants, was incorporated as a city.[1] Chicago's future growth—in the next eight years her population increased to 12,088—was foreseen by many people, among them Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, author and ethnologist, who visited Chicago in 1820.[2]

Although almost forgotten today, a man who played an important part in the history of Illinois and strove to encourage cultural activities in the early Midwest was James Hall, editor, lawyer, journalist, novelist, and one of the organizers of the Antiquarian and Historical Society. After serving over five years in the army and practicing law in Pittsburgh for two years, he moved to Shawneetown, Illinois, in the spring of 1820. By the following winter he had become district attorney, and in this office attained considerable prominence when he won the first murder trial in the

[1] Milo M. Quaife, *Chicago and the Old Northwest, 1673-1835* (Chicago, 1913), 129-34.
[2] Quoted in Dorsha B. Hayes, *Chicago, Crossroads of an American Enterprise* (New York, 1944), 63.

history of Illinois. Hall soon appeared, also, in the rôle c publisher. In May, 1820, he purchased a half-interest in th *Illinois Gazette*, a weekly newspaper which had made its firs appearance in 1818 as the *Illinois Emigrant*. As editor durin the next two years, Hall filled the paper with many of hi lively editorials and literary notes. A few years later he wa named judge of the Fourth Judicial Circuit, which post h retained until January, 1827, when the circuit judgeship were abolished. Upon becoming state treasurer on Februar 12, 1827, Hall moved to Vandalia, then the capital of Illinois where for the next five years he continued his legal pursuit and also participated in political and literary activities. Her he became the editor of another paper, the *Illinois Intelli gencer*, and also edited the first Western annual, known a the *Western Souvenir*. About the same time, he founded th *Illinois Monthly Magazine*, the first literary magazine west o Ohio. Hall removed to Cincinnati in January, 1833, but hi contributions to Illinois literary history, though he was resident of the state only a relatively short time, are signifi cant.[3]

Foremost among well-known nineteenth century writer stands Abraham Lincoln. His Gettysburg address, secon inaugural, and letter to Mrs. Bixby—to mention only three— are used as models of English wherever the language i spoken. The Lincoln family moved to Illinois in March 1830, and Abraham spent the major part of his life in th Prairie State. According to Carl Sandburg, Lincoln's great ness is partially due to his essentially Western spirit.[4]

America's earliest poet of distinction, William Culle Bryant, visited his two brothers at Jacksonville, Illinois, a early as 1832. In letters to his wife he related the hazards o the route which led him by primitive conveyances across th

[3] James Hall, *Letters from the West* (London, 1828), 192, 215-33; John T. Flanagan, *Jame Hall, Literary Pioneer of the Ohio Valley* (Minneapolis, 1941), 11-49 *passim*.

[4] The biography which most adequately stresses Lincoln's Westernism is Carl Sand burg's *Abraham Lincoln: The Prairie Years* (New York, 1926).

Alleghenies, down the Ohio, up the Mississippi, and across the prairie.[5] But frontier life pleased him, and he wrote Richard Henry Dana about eating corn bread and honey, sleeping in log houses, and riding horseback across the wilderness. On one occasion he met a group of Illinois volunteers hurrying to take part in the Black Hawk War, and later learned that the leader, by a strange coincidence, was Abraham Lincoln.[6] The region impressed him so favorably that he composed two poems about it, "The Hunter of the Prairies" and "The Prairies." The latter work is written in dignified, mellifluous blank verse and does full justice to the subject. Part of it is quoted:

> These are the gardens of the Desert, these
> The unshorn fields, boundless and beautiful,
> For which the speech of England has no name—
> The Prairies. I behold them for the first,
> And my heart swells while the dilated sight
> Takes in the encircling vastness. Lo, they stretch
> In airy undulations, far away.

The poet's mother moved to Princeton, Illinois, in 1835, and there all the members of his family gradually reassembled. He visited these relatives on several other occasions—once in 1841, again in 1845, and probably in 1846. As the years passed he saw the prairie wilderness change into a populated and fruitful agricultural district.[7]

Charles Joseph Latrobe, well-known British traveler, sailed for America in 1832. After spending about a year in the eastern and southern parts of the country, he journeyed to Chicago in 1833. This trip is described in *The Rambler in North America*, a work gay in mood and on the whole impartial in attitude, in which a chapter is devoted to a description of Chicago.[8]

[5] Printed as "Illinois Fifty Years Ago" in Parke Godwin, ed., *Prose Writings of William Cullen Bryant* (New York, 1889), II: 3-22.

[6] William A. Bradley, *William Cullen Bryant* (New York, 1905), 139-40.

[7] Bradley, *Bryant*, 139-40; George V. Bohman, "A Poet's Mother: Sarah Snell Bryant in Illinois," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Vol. XXXIII, No. 2 (June, 1940), 172, 179.

[8] *The Rambler in North America* (New York, 1835), II: 149-59.

Generally, however, visiting Englishmen were not without prejudice. They became piqued when they were not well received, and they often stayed in America for too short a time to obtain fair impressions. Not the least of their purposes was to make money by lecturing and writing, whereas American authors did not usually have such lucrative designs but traveled primarily to see the West and visit friends and relatives. The Americans were more interested in the aspects of nature, while the English were more intent on studying manners and morals. Beginning with Washington Irving in 1833, several authors passed through Illinois en route to St. Louis and cities and territories farther west without remaining in the Prairie State for any appreciable length of time. Besides Irving, Capt. Frederick Marryat, English novelist, Francis Parkman, distinguished historian of the frontier, William Makepeace Thackeray, and Bret Harte at least touched the borders of Illinois in their travels.

One of the most valuable accounts of early days in Illinois is that of Charles Fenno Hoffman, New York editor and author, who went west in 1833-1834 because of his health.[9] He traveled by stage from Pittsburgh to Cleveland, by boat to Detroit, by horseback and four-horse wagon to Chicago, and by sled and coach to St. Louis. Like Schoolcraft, he foresaw the future growth of the region. His record contains interesting comments on a quaint New Year's ball he attended, and he also describes a horse race and wolf hunt. Hoffman visited Au Sable River, Ottawa, Boyd's Grove, Galena, and Peoria before he left Illinois.[10]

Harriet Martineau, the first important woman writer to visit Illinois, is one of the numerous Britishers who criticized America. She thought the United States inconsistent in applying the doctrines of the Declaration of Independence. When her *Society in America* appeared, her uncomplimentary

[9] Bessie Louise Pierce, ed., *As Others See Chicago* (New York, 1935), 70.
[10] Hoffman, *A Winter in the Far West* (New York, 1835), I: 89 ff., 236-90; II: 54-72.

remarks wounded the vanity of many Americans.[11] She found the shabby houses in Chicago insignificant and the inns intolerable when she saw them in the summer of 1836. But she never witnessed a busier place: money was easily made, and gay social affairs were common. She attended an interesting church service at the new Lake House Hotel. Later she made an excursion into the nearby prairies, dined near the Des Plaines River, spent the night at the Joliet Hotel, and visited Mount Joliet the next day. The fertility of the soil, a prairie wolf, and a nighthawk she saw in the distance elicited comments.[12]

James Kirke Paulding, well-known writer and collaborator with Washington Irving, joined Martin Van Buren in a 7,000-mile tour through the South and West in 1842. His impressions of Illinois are contained in "Illinois and the Prairies," first published in *Graham's Magazine*.[13]

Charles Dickens's travels in the United States are perhaps better known than those of any other European. Although he was only thirty when he made his visit, his fame had spread even to the margins of the frontier, but he failed to comprehend the Western spirit and unjustly compared America with England. He made many enemies by his caustic criticisms in *Martin Chuzzlewit* and *American Notes*. Of particular interest to Illinoisans is the fact that seeing Cairo, Illinois, was the primary purpose of his American tour. He had invested heavily and unwisely in Illinois bonds, sold by a shrewd Yankee, Darius B. Holbrook, who had organized the Cairo City and Canal Company and in Europe had advertised Cairo as "a grand city at the junction of the Mississippi and Ohio rivers." It is not strange, then, that the novelist desired to inspect this town; and his disappointment in it may account, in part, for his dislike of America.[14]

[11] Pierce, ed., *As Others See Chicago*, 81-86; Max Berger, *The British Traveller in America, 1836-1860* (New York, 1943), 51-52.

[12] *Society in America* (2d ed., London, 1837), I: 349-64.

[13] Amos L. Herold, *James Kirke Paulding, Versatile American* (New York, 1926), 133.

[14] J. F. Snyder, "Charles Dickens in Illinois," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Vol. III, No. 3 (Oct., 1910), 20-22.

Dickens traveled by steamboat down the Ohio from Pittsburgh and arrived at St. Louis on April 11, 1842. The next day he and nine other young men made an excursion to the Looking Glass Prairie, visiting Belleville and spending the night at Lebanon, Illinois. Dr. J. F. Snyder, one of the organizers of the Illinois State Historical Society, was a boy at the time. Later he remembered having seen the novelist and he recorded Dickens's activities in great detail. Snyder maintained that the writer of *American Notes* was biased—that he purposely stressed the unpleasant aspects of the trip and usually disregarded the favorable ones. Dickens maliciously called Belleville "a small collection of wooden houses huddled together in the very heart of the bush and swamp." Snyder was unimpressed by the novelist's appearance and noted his bored yet amused attitude. Dickens ate luncheon at the Mansion House in Belleville, then described the hostelry erroneously. After the repast the party continued to Lebanon. The famous visitor pronounced the prairies desolate and uninteresting. A picnic at sunset he enjoyed, however, and was not displeased by the Mermaid Hotel at Lebanon. The next morning he arose at five o'clock, walked around the village, then returned to St. Louis. On his return east up the Ohio he visited Cairo, the deprecatory description of which appears in *American Notes*.[15]

In contrast to Dickens's attitude was that of the American authoress, Margaret Fuller, a brilliant conversationalist, leader in the feminist movement, and friend of Emerson. One of her acquaintances, James Freeman Clarke, invited her to join him and his sister in 1843 on a visit to the West. Clarke felt sure that his friend needed a vacation from the strain of Boston life, and sent her $50 to help defray expenses. Her story of the trip is contained in *A Summer on the Lakes*, published in 1844.[16] The party journeyed to Niagara Falls and

[15] See *Jour. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, Oct., 1910, 8-20; also William G. Wilkins, *Charles Dickens in America* (New York, 1911), 217-22, 226.

[16] Mason Wade, *Margaret Fuller, Whetstone of Genius* (New York, 1940), 119.

thence by water to Chicago, where for the first time Margaret Fuller saw the prairies. In spite of the carpet of spring flowers the great grasslands appeared desolate and monotonously dull. Her greatest enjoyment in the city came from walking along the margin of the lake. But soon she felt the spell of the wide open spaces and found a new beauty in peaceful prairie sunsets and cattle winding slowly to their homes. She viewed with eagerness an excursion to Oregon, Illinois, to visit her uncle, William W. Fuller, a practicing lawyer of long standing in the town. Setting out in a wagon, she reached Fox River and Geneva, Illinois, at the end of the first day, and was thrilled beyond measure by the excellent weather and glorious countryside. In her manuscript notes, however, she deplored the dearth of true genius among the inhabitants of the West, and uttered a wish that she might arouse them from their lethargy. She spent a day or two at a country home, then traveled farther, admiring the groves and prairies. Rock River she considered a pleasant stream, and praised Illinoisans for the beauty of their gardens. At Hazelwood on June 30 she penned "The Western Eden," a poem which, although not distinguished, shows her appreciative attitude. It contains the following lines:

> Blest be the kindly genius of the scene;
> The river, bending in unbroken grace,
> The stately thickets, with their pathways green,
> Fair, lonely trees, each in its fittest place.

Following Black Hawk's trail, Miss Fuller finally reached the little village of Oregon, where she wrote a long poem, 'Ganymede to his Eagle." Leaving Oregon, she passed through Kishwaukee and Belvidere on the way back to Chicago.[17] A rather conventional poem, "Farewell to Rock River Valley," which she wrote at the time, contains these lines:

[17] Mason Wade, ed., *The Writings of Margaret Fuller* (New York, 1941), 23-51. Her letters to Emerson from Chicago are printed in Ralph L. Rusk, ed., *The Letters of Ralph Waldo Emerson* (New York, 1939), III: 170, 177, 182, 194, 200, 201.

> Farewell, ye soft and sumptuous solitudes!
> Ye fairy distances, ye lordly woods.

The Midwest had taken on new meaning for her, and she left it regretfully.

America's most original, most democratic poet, Walt Whitman, took a keen interest in the West. In February, 1848, at the age of twenty-nine, he and a younger brother journeyed by steamboat to New Orleans, where Walt helped edit the *New Orleans Daily Crescent*. En route he saw Cairo, Illinois, but predicted no "great shakes" for it, except in the way of ague.[18] Returning to Brooklyn in June of the same year via the Mississippi and Illinois rivers and the Great Lakes, the two Whitmans had ample opportunity to see the Prairie State. They passed Marseilles, Naples, and other points, and examined Peoria thoroughly, finding it a pleasant community, with rich backlands. On June 6 they reached LaSalle and on the next day arrived in Chicago.[19] Here they went to the American Temperance House, at Lake Street and Wabash Avenue, and Walt, as was his custom in places new to him, spent most of a day in looking around the town.[20] He greatly admired Illinois and carried the picture of the far stretching prairies with him for many years: "Illinois," he wrote, "is the most splendid agricultural country I ever saw the land is of surpassing richness; the place par excellence for farmers."[21] Whitman saw Illinois again when he crossed the state on his way to the Rocky Mountains in September, 1879, and on his return trip in January, 1880.[22]

John Lewis Peyton, a minor American author, took a six-months' trip to Illinois and the West in 1848, and pub

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[18] Emory Holloway, ed., *The Uncollected Poetry and Prose of Walt Whitman* (Garden City, 1921), I: 189.

[19] Richard M. Bucke, Thomas B. Harned, and Horace L. Traubel, eds., *Complete Writings of Walt Whitman* (New York, 1902), III: 213, 214.

[20] Robert R. Hubach, "Walt Whitman and the West" (Ph.D. thesis, Indiana University, 1943), 117.

[21] Bucke, *et al.*, eds., *Writings of Whitman*, III: 213, 214.

[22] Bucke, *et al.*, eds., *Writings of Whitman*, I:252; Clara Barrus, *Whitman and Burroughs Comrades* (New York, 1931), 189-90.

ished a detailed description of various phases of Chicago ife in *Over the Alleghanies and across the Prairies. Personal Recol-ections of the Far West One and Twenty Years Ago.* A few years ater he returned to Chicago with hopes of settling there, but ll health and homesickness sent him back to the South.[23]

The writer who made the greatest number of trips to llinois was Ralph Waldo Emerson, distinguished lecturer, hilosopher, poet, and essayist. As early as the 1840's he was naking addresses west of the Alleghenies; for twenty years ie withstood the hardships of winter, flood, and inadequate ravel facilities to popularize the lyceum and spread the nessage of the Concord Brahmins to the outposts of the vilderness.[24] Emerson first saw Illinois in 1850. In a letter lated July 1 of that year, he wrote to William Emerson that ie boarded the steamboat *Excelsior* at St. Louis and reached Galena, Illinois, after a three-and-a-half-day trip. He rode y stage to Elgin and by rail to Chicago. The whole state, ie said, was one measureless prairie.[25]

Emerson visited Illinois a second time in January, 1853. He was urged by a young Illinois lawyer, F. A. Moore, to peak in Springfield, and consequently gave three lectures in Representatives' Hall. On the night of January 10 he spoke n "The Anglo-Saxon," the next night on "Power," and the ollowing evening on "Culture." In a letter to his wife on anuary 11 he mentioned the mud, rain, and thaws, and con-luded by saying that on the prairie all men are new.[26] Both pringfield newspapers—the *Illinois State Register* and the *llinois Journal*—printed brief paragraphs concerning the ectures at the time they were delivered. On January 13 the *ournal* published a long enthusiastic summary of the first

[23] Pierce, ed., *As Others See Chicago*, 99-112.

[24] The works giving the greatest amount of information about Emerson's Western avels are: Rusk, ed., *Letters of Emerson* (6 vols.); Louise Hastings, ed., "Emerson's Journal the West, 1850-1853" (Ph.D. thesis, Indiana University, 1942); and Ernest Marchand, Emerson and the Frontier," *American Literature*, Vol. III (May, 1931), 149-74.

[25] Rusk, ed., *Letters of Emerson*, IV: 216-17.

[26] *Ibid.*, 342.

two talks and reported that Emerson would speak at Jacksonville that evening before returning east.

Slightly more than a year later Emerson again visited Illinois. He lectured in Chicago on "Culture" before the Young Men's Association on February 2, 1854, and the *Daily Chicago Journal* of the next day recorded that, although the address was not one of his happiest efforts, it was of a high order and effectively delivered. In a letter written to William Emerson on February 8, Emerson noted the rapid growth of the city since he had seen it four years previously.[27]

In 1855-1856 the lecturer made his fourth Illinois visit. On December 29 and 30, 1855, he lodged at the Tremont House in Chicago before journeying to Dixon, Rock Island and other Illinois localities. He remarked in his *Journal* on January 1, 1856, that he talked with John Dixon, the founder of the city of that name, and rode by sleigh down the Rock River for five or six miles.[28] The *Rock Island Morning Argus* though not naming the title of the lecture, reported in complimentary fashion on his address at the Baptist Church on January 1.[29] The following passage, written by Emerson to his wife on his return to Dixon on January 3, shows the hardships of his winters in the Prairie State:

> A cold raw country this, & plenty of night travelling and arriving at 4 in the morning to take the last & worst bed in the tavern. I was yesterday at Lasalle and at 12.10 P. M. took the train for Dixon, the mercury at 15 below zero.

Emerson then went to Freeport, where he read "Beauty" before the Young Men's Association. He was at Galena on January 5. At Belvidere on January 7 he read "Beauty" again. Suffering from the cold weather, he was glad at last to reach the comfortable Tremont House in Chicago by January 13. He lectured at Galesburg on January 16, and was probably once

[27] Rusk, ed., *Letters of Emerson*, IV: 407.

[28] Edward Waldo Emerson and Waldo Emerson Forbes, eds., *Journals of Ralph Waldo Emerson* (Boston, 1914), IX: 4-5.

[29] Quoted in Rusk, ed., *Letters of Emerson*, IV: 540.

more in Chicago before setting out for Cleveland.[30]

The almost countless number of times Emerson spoke in Illinois proves his popularity. He was again in Chicago in January, 1857, where he lectured on "The Conduct of Life" before a Y. M. A. meeting. "I have found very kind reception here in Chicago," he wrote to his wife on this occasion.[31]

Two less important Illinois sojourns were made by Emerson a few years later. During February, 1860, he lectured at Chicago and probably also at Rockford, and in January, 1863, he spoke in Chicago on "Perpetual Forces."[32] But these western trips tired him. Jocosely Emerson said that someone in Chicago offered to put up $50 for each day he would be away from home and then wager the amount that he would never engage in another lecture tour. However, he again journeyed westward in January, 1865, and he delivered a course of lectures which earned him $900.[33]

Emerson took his ninth trip to Illinois during the following year. He visited Chicago again in 1866, and was at Princeton on January 18 of that year. A rather significant letter of January 25 to Ellen Emerson from Freeport, Illinois, indicates the difficult conditions under which he tried to spread his message:

> The institution of these Lyceums is a stroke of heroism in each town,—desperate if it snows or blows on the appointed evening. Here is America in the making, America in the raw, but it doesn't want much to go to [a] lecture.[34]

Numerous Illinois towns received visits from the lecturer during two more Western trips in 1867. Emerson was at Chicago on January 29, at Lacon on February 11, where he spoke on "The Man of the World," and at Peoria on February 12. Here, according to the *Peoria Daily Transcript*, he

[30] Rusk, ed., *Letters of Emerson*, V: 4-7.

[31] See Rusk, ed., *Letters of Emerson*, V: 58-59; Edgar Lee Masters, *The Tale of Chicago* (New York, 1933), 161.

[32] Quoted in Rusk, ed., *Letters of Emerson*, V: 308.

[33] Rusk, ed., *Letters of Emerson*, V: 397, 404-05; E. W. Emerson and Forbes, eds., *Journals of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, X: 91-92.

[34] Rusk, ed., *Letters of Emerson*, V: 451-52.

read "The Daily Life of American Society" before the Library Association, prefacing his talk with remarks about his travels in Illinois and the growth of the West. On February 17 he was at Port Byron, the next day at Freeport again, then returned to Chicago. His second trip in 1867 brought him once more to Chicago on December 8 and to Mattoon on December 14 and 15. At the latter place he lectured on "Success" and "Immortality." He read "Country Life" before the Young Men's Association of Chicago on December 23.[35]

Emerson's last visit to Illinois, the thirteenth one, came in the fall of 1871, twenty-one years after his first trip. During this long period, appreciation of cultural values had grown in the Midwest and he had formed ties of friendship in this land of his adoption. The *Chicago Tribune* of November 29 reported that a coldly intellectual audience greeted his "Nature and Art" with only mild applause. "He gave the impression of belonging to an earlier age," it continued. "His hair was long, white, thin and combed closely to his head. . . . His manner was slightly stiff and awkward but that of the true gentleman."

The aged lecturer went next to Quincy to talk on "Art and Nature" and "Immortality." The final lecture of this tour, "Greatness," was delivered at Springfield on December 5.[36] In his *Journal* Emerson added a last word of appreciation for the kind reception his many visits had received:

> Home again from Chicago, Quincy, Springfield, and Dubuque, which I had not believed I should see again, yet found it easier to visit than before, and the kindest reception in each city.[37]

Although polished and learned, Emerson was not dismayed by the crudities of the West. He understood and loved its strength, originality, and self-reliance.

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[35] See Rusk, ed., *Letters of Emerson*, V: 491, 497, 499, 503-06, 508, 542-43, 546.

[36] *Ibid.*, VI: 149, 187.

[37] E. W. Emerson and Forbes, eds., *Journals of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, X: 371-72.

Another New Englander, Bronson Alcott, though not so well-known a personality to most people, became interested in the Midwest. This New England transcendentalist, teacher, lecturer, writer, and father of the author of *Little Women*, made ten conversational tours of the Midwest between 1853 and 1882. But, unlike Whitman and Emerson, he was slow in appreciating this region—indeed, at first he was almost antagonistic to it. One winter day in 1866 when looking out of a railway window upon the bleak wastes of central Illinois, he wrote the following uncomplimentary sentences in his *Journal*:

> One mile is like every other. Nothing breaks the prospect, and the faces seen at the stations seem transcripts of the dismal landscape.

His comment on "several places . . . called cities" in Illinois, written on December 28, 1858, is equally deprecatory:

> They consist of a few rude dwellings, embedded in mud at this season, standing in the open prairie country. Here and there a pretty coppice of timber is seen, a clump of trees along some straggling stream of turbid water, sparse cornfields and log-hovels—the general landscape looking slovenly and dismal enough.

His attitude changed, however; he formed lasting friendships in the Midwest and lectured time and again at such towns as Bloomington, Chicago, Evanston, Jacksonville, Peoria, and Rockford.[38] He spoke in thirty-seven towns during his last tour in 1881 and doubtless saw much of Illinois during that year.[39]

Bayard Taylor, American poet and traveler, lectured in Illinois many times. One of his Western sojourns took place in the spring of 1854.[40] Another writer, Mrs. Isabella L. Bishop, an Englishwoman, made three trips to the United States in search of better health. During her first visit in 1854

[38] Odell Shepard, *Pedlar's Progress: The Life of Bronson Alcott* (Boston, 1937), 473-74, 477, 483-86.

[39] Odell Shepard, ed., *The Journals of Bronson Alcott* (Boston, 1938), 522-23.

[40] Richmond C. Beatty, *Bayard Taylor, Laureate of the Gilded Age* (Norman, Okla., 1936), 147-48.

she saw Chicago and included her favorable impressions in *The Englishwoman in America* (1856).[41]

An English writer who has gained increasing popularity with modern readers is Anthony Trollope, contemporary of Dickens and author of the famous "Barsetshire Chronicles." His account of his American tour in 1861 is detailed. He reached Dunleith, Illinois, in the fall of that year by crossing the Mississippi at Dubuque, and his praise of the Illinois prairies became extravagant:

> Better land than the prairies of Illinois for cereal crops the world's surface probably cannot show. . . . The earth is rich with the vegetation of thousands of years, and the farmer's return is given to him without delay.

Trollope visited Dixon, Illinois, to gain a choice view of the plains, and in October reached Chicago, which he called in many respects the most remarkable city in the United States. He appreciated the size of the granaries, the post office, and the hotel where he stayed, and he enjoyed a good laugh at a Chicago theater. It was not that he failed to realize Chicago's shortcomings, but he believed that its drawbacks would be overcome. Later he traveled to Cairo, where he gained an impression almost as unfavorable as Dickens's:

> As Cairo is of all towns in America the most desolate, so is its hotel the most forlorn and wretched. Not that it lacked custom. It was so full that no room was to be had on our first entry . . . and we were reduced to the necessity of washing our hands and faces in the public washroom. . . . There is a fixed resolution in these places that you shall be drenched with dirt and drowned in abominations. . . . In that room I did not dare to brush my teeth lest I should give offence; and I saw at once that I was regarded with suspicion when I used my own comb instead of that provided for the public.[42]

Yet he realized a peculiar beauty in Cairo—a death-like beauty in the dense woods gemmed with particles of ice and in the great silent river running nearby.[43] Trollope made four

[41] Quoted in Pierce, ed., *As Others See Chicago*, 141-47.
[42] Trollope, *North America* (London, 1862), II: 150-62.
[43] Allan Nevins, comp., *American Social History as Recorded by British Travellers* (New York, 1923), 304, 414-16.

other trips to America but did not write about them; *The American Senator*, however, is a novel indebted to his United States tours.

Another English novelist, Thomas Hughes, author of the popular *Tom Brown's School Days* and *Tom Brown at Oxford*, was fond of Chicago. He visited it in 1870 and was moved by the welcome it gave him. After the fire of 1871 he personally influenced the authors and publishers of Britain to donate thousands of volumes to help start the Chicago Public Library. Such writers as Herbert Spencer, Huxley, Kingsley, Disraeli, and Rossetti contributed.[44]

William Archer, a Scot, author of *The Green Goddess*, visited Chicago in 1877 and 1899. His *America To-day*, published in 1900, contains an impartial and interesting chapter about Chicago and its growth.[45]

The name of Samuel Clemens—more commonly known as Mark Twain—is usually associated with Missouri and the Far West rather than with Illinois; however, the author of *Tom Sawyer* visited Chicago many times. In 1879 he was invited to speak at the annual reunion of the Society of the Army of the Tennessee. The honor guest was Gen. Ulysses S. Grant, recently returned from a triumphal world tour. Twain dreaded the long railway journey to Chicago but finally decided to go. Interviewed by a *Chicago Tribune* reporter on November 12, he made several humorous remarks about the large pictures of Lincoln, Washington, and Grant which decorated the interior of the new customhouse—all such bad art that they did not even resemble their illustrious subjects. That evening, according to the *Tribune*, numerous long speeches by official and military dignitaries were delivered at Haverly's Theater. Finally the crowd called for "Mark Twain," who came forward and said that he could never make a good impromptu speech unless he had several hours' notice. He was introduced to Grant as a man almost

[44] Robert Shackleton, *The Book of Chicago* (Philadelphia, 1920), 150-51.
[45] Quoted in Pierce, ed., *As Others See Chicago*, 408-16.

as great as the General himself. The climax of the celebration occurred at the grand banquet on November 13 at the Palmer House before 600 guests. Several speeches, including Grant's, preceded Twain's, which was purposely placed last to hold the house. It was 2:00 A.M. when, after numerous dull talks, the great humorist began his famous speech on babies: "We haven't all had the good-fortune to be ladies; we haven't all been generals, or poets, or statesmen; but when the toast works down to the *babies*—we stand on common ground." A volley of applause followed. Next Twain drew a word-picture of all babies, said that every baby's ambition was to put its toe in its mouth. He pointed out that Grant himself was at one time a baby with a similar ambition. Then the speaker turned dramatically to the General and said: "There are mighty few who will *doubt that he succeeded.*" The house resounded with thunderous applause.[46]

On November 14, Clemens was a guest at the afternoon reception given by Colonel and Mrs. Fred Grant at their home. In leaving Chicago, Clemens refused comment on his forthcoming book on the grounds that the papers would say that he was doing his own advertising, and he did not want it publicized in that way. Two later trips to Chicago took place—one in the summer of 1892 concerning the manufacture of his typesetting machine, and the other in the spring of 1893 for the same purpose; but he was in bed with a bad cold during most of the eleven days of the last visit.[47]

Lady Duffus Hardy, British novelist, toured the United States in 1879-1880, and in 1881 published her favorable opinion of Chicago in *Through Cities and Prairie Land*. Unlike the next author discussed, she liked the ornate design of the city water works.[48]

The apostle of aestheticism, Oscar Wilde, invaded Chicago on February 10, 1882, and, to say the least, spared al-

[46] Albert Bigelow Paine, *Mark Twain, A Biography. The Personal and Literary Life of Samuel Langhorne Clemens* (New York, 1912), II: 652-57; *Chicago Tribune*, Nov. 14, 1879.
[47] Paine, *Mark Twain*, II: 947, 965.
[48] Quoted in Pierce, ed., *As Others See Chicago*, 226-29.

most no censure and was spared almost none during his sojourn. The *Chicago Daily News* began by printing a vilifying poem about him on February 11. Upon arriving by train from Niagara, he was rushed to the Grand Pacific Hotel, installed in a handsome suite of rooms, and served a dinner of brook trout, broiled quail, steak, and sweets, with champagne. The next morning he was interviewed by reporters of the *Chicago Inter Ocean*, who complimented his gracious smile and full voice but found his handclasp "like the clinging of a vine." Oscar adversely criticized American civilization for the sins of industrialism. "One production of Michael Angelo is worth a hundred by Edison," he told the newsmen, "Life without industry is barren, and industry without art is barbarism." Yet he tried to reconcile machinery with aesthetics. Europe realized that America's first task was to conquer nature, but she expected artistic accomplishments now that the wilderness was won. "The problem of modern life is how, with all these wonderful inventions, far greater than even Greek or Italian ever dreamed of, you can create a civilization greater or even as great as theirs." A complimentary remark about his native country, Ireland, concluded the interview.

Touring the city, Wilde was duly impressed by the number of telephones and by the public parks, but the unsightly buildings and uneven sidewalks annoyed him. Chicago, in its turn, laughed at the poet's flowing hair, strange costume, and mannerisms. One afternoon the poet spoke at the Franklin MacVeagh mansion. Chicago society was pleased to hear him say that Americans danced better than the British. During the lecture, several small boys outside the house waved sunflowers and lilies—symbols of the aesthetic movement—and hooted so loudly that Wilde thought it best to leave by way of an alley. Later he lectured at the Central Music Hall on "The Decorative Arts" before some 2,500 people and complimented Midwesterners on several things, but said that his

feelings were hurt by Chicago's water tower, a "castellated monstrosity with pepper-boxes stuck all over it." This structure was Chicago's boast and pride. The city did not like to be insulted aesthetically. Oscar Wilde repented and left the city, saying that there was no "tinsel shabbiness" about it, its women were handsome, and it was more hospitable than the East. In the middle of February he left for Fort Wayne, but about two weeks later he saw Illinois again when he passed through Springfield on his way to St. Louis.[49]

Chicago had a large part in the journalistic and literary development of Eugene Field, who left Denver in August, 1883, when he was thirty-three years old, to join the staff of the *Chicago Morning News* at a salary of $50 a week. He and his large family moved into a convenient apartment on Chicago Avenue. In spite of financial difficulties, Field always enjoyed life and was seldom too busy to attend theaters and concerts, to bowl, or play characteristic pranks. His *Morning News* column began on August 15, and on August 31 he gave it the title "Sharps and Flats," under which heading he wrote for the rest of his life. He usually arrived at his untidy office about eleven o'clock each morning, removed his coat and shoes, donned a pair of slippers, rolled up his shirt sleeves, and cut clippings from his favorite newspapers before he began actual writing. In 1893 he moved to Buena Vista Park, a suburb of Chicago. His health failed rapidly and two years later he died. During his Illinois residence he produced some of the best verse and prose of his career.[50]

One of England's most significant writers, Matthew Arnold, poet and critic, was not well received in Chicago. His dignified, scholarly attitude was not generally appreciated by the United States, nor did he himself completely understand the American spirit. He arrived in Chicago from

[49] Lloyd Lewis and Henry Justin Smith, *Oscar Wilde Discovers America* [*1882*] (New York, 1936), 164-83.

[50] Slason Thompson, *Life of Eugene Field* (New York, 1927), 90-107, 113, 117-25, 135-64, 184, 225, 365; Charles H. Dennis, *Eugene Field's Creative Years* (New York, 1924), 39, 44-48, 307.

Boston on the evening of January 20, 1884, and read in the *Chicago Tribune* the following word-picture of himself: "He has harsh features, supercilious manners, parts his hair down the middle, wears a single eye-glass and ill-fitting clothes." This was hardly a cordial welcome. He wrote to his daughter the next day that he was staying at the home of a bookseller, who, after meeting him at the station, had hurried him off to a literary club reception where he spoke briefly. The *Tribune* of January 23 criticized his lecture on "Numbers" at the Central Music Hall. No wonder Arnold wrote his sister on January 23 that Chicago was "a great uninteresting place." But—in spite of himself and the beastly weather—he ended by pronouncing Chicago's park system beautiful and declared that many of the leading citizens were kind and hospitable.[51] En route to St. Louis he visited Galesburg.[52] Several months afterwards, a New York paper printed a criticism of Chicago purported to have been written by Arnold in the *Pall Mall Gazette*. Arnold cabled to America that the article was not his. In due time he heard that the editor of the *Chicago Tribune* had printed the following: "Arnold denies; Mr. Medill refuses to accept Arnold's disclaimer; says Arnold is a cur."[53] Such an episode as this could not but leave a bitter taste in his mouth; America, he decided, was unripe for him—indeed, was unripe for culture.

One of the last important British writers to see Illinois during the century was Rudyard Kipling, author of *The Jungle Book* and numerous popular novels and poems. He was merely a youth when he visited Chicago in 1889, yet his criticism was one of the most vilifying ever written:

> I spent ten hours in that huge wilderness, wandering through scores of miles of those terrible streets, and jostling some few hundred thousands of these terrible people who talked money through their noses.

[51] George W. E. Russell, ed., *Letters of Matthew Arnold, 1848-1888* (New York, 1896), II: 295-97.

[52] W. T. Beauchamp, "Plate on the Prairies; Matthew Arnold at Galesburg," *Educational Forum*, Vol. V (March, 1941), 285-95.

[53] Quoted in Nevins, comp., *American Social History*, 512.

Kipling called the Palmer House "a gilded and mirrored rabbit-warren . . . a huge hall of tessellated marble, crammed with people talking about money and spitting about everywhere." A cab driver showed him the town, but the author found the streets colorless and the people barbaric. He disliked the city's flatness. A church service he attended brought disgust, and the stockyards almost nauseated him.[54] Chicago took his disapprobation philosophically, and a newspaper analyzed his attitude as follows:

> The truth seems to be that Mr. Kipling is an unusually bright fellow who enjoys a somewhat exaggerated opinion of his own brightness. . . Is it possible that Kipling, now twenty-four years of age, is at his perihelion, physically and intellectually?[55]

George Warrington Steevens, English journalist, recorded his impressions of his 1896 visit to Chicago in *The Land of the Dollar* (1897). He found the city amazing—"cynosure and cesspool of the world," as he called it.[56] Robert Herrick, an Easterner, at first scorned the materialism of Chicago; he grew in understanding, however, and chose Chicago as the setting for several of his novels.[57] Julian Ralph, a New York author and journalist, made tours of the United States for *Harper's Magazine* in 1891-1892 and again in 1893. He wrote *Chicago and the World's Fair* and evinced enthusiasm for Chicago in *Our Great West*, published in 1893.[58]

During modern times Illinois has changed from a state visited by literary men to one where they come to live and work. Such men as George Ade, Hamlin Garland, and William Vaughn Moody came to Chicago in the latter part of the nineteenth century and in the early twentieth won their renown. Ade was born in Indiana. He came to Chicago

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[54] *The Collected Works of Rudyard Kipling* (New York, 1941), XVIII: 126-35.

[55] Shackleton, *The Book of Chicago*, 131.

[56] Quoted in Pierce, ed., *As Others See Chicago*, 395.

[57] Harry Hansen, "Robert Herrick and Edgar Lee Masters, Interpreters of our Modern World," *Midwest Portraits* (New York, 1923), 227-42; Pattee, *The New American Literature* 31-34.

[58] Quoted in Pierce, ed., *As Others See Chicago*, 287.

seeking a journalistic career and joined the staff of the *Record* in the early 1890's. His sketches of Chicago life remain classics of the period.[59] Hamlin Garland, realistic writer with a thoroughly Western outlook, was born in Wisconsin. He established his home in Chicago in the summer of 1893 and, in *Crumbling Idols*, hailed that city, rather than New York, as the literary capital of the nation. "This is where I belong," he declared. "Here in the great Midland metropolis with this room for my pivot, I shall continue my study of the plains and mountains."[60] William Vaughn Moody, born in Indiana and educated at Harvard, came to Illinois in 1895 to teach in the University of Chicago. There he became one of America's leading poets and playwrights.

The vast array of literary men who have visited Illinois and those who have come here to live have all contributed to the state's interest in literature and creative writing. Hamlin Garland's hope that Chicago might become the literary center of America has in a measure come true. The pioneer dream of a state rich not only in materialistic, but also in cultural, achievements has to a great extent been realized.

[59] Ade, *Stories of the Streets and of the Town, from the Chicago Record, 1893-1900* (Chicago, 941).

[60] Garland, *A Daughter of the Middle Border* (New York, 1921), ix, 2.

THE ILLINOIS BOOKSHELF

EARLY BENCH AND BAR OF ILLINOIS. By John Dean Caton Chicago, Printed by the Chicago Legal News Co., 1893.

One of the first books to be looked for on an Illinois bookshelf woul be *Early Bench and Bar of Illinois* by John Dean Caton.[1] Judge Caton like to think of himself as a man who was first in unusual places. Reared on New York farm, Caton came to Chicago in 1833 when the little city c 300 inhabitants had no attorney. In later years Caton recalled that h opened the first law office in Chicago; that he instituted the first civil sui brought in the circuit court of Cook County, and prosecuted the firs criminal in the court of justice there. He claimed to have appeared in th first jury case tried in the Chicago neighborhood and to have been a mem ber and secretary of the first political convention held in Illinois. His ow first office from the hands of the people was justice of the peace. A ma with business alertness, Caton invested heavily in Illinois' future an suffered a breakdown in health during the financial panic of 1837. H spent three years recuperating on a farm near Plainfield, then began prac ticing law again. In 1842 he was appointed Associate Justice of the Illinoi Supreme Court.

Judge Caton remained on the supreme bench almost continually un til he retired in 1864. By that time he had acquired a handsome estate a Ottawa. He devoted the last thirty years of his life to travel and writing A wealthy man, prominent in Illinois for half a century, Caton knev practically all the well-known people of his time. However, his *Earl Bench and Bar of Illinois*, which appeared in 1893, deals in large part witl the near-great. Its value and its charm lie in the Judge's concise descrip tion of scenes in Illinois prior to the Civil War. The following is a sampl of his style:

At a term of the Circuit Court of Peoria County which was held b Judge Koerner, with whom I had exchanged circuits for the time durin Fridley's administration as state's attorney, he had indicted a man in tha

[1] A biography of John Dean Caton by Dr. Harry Pratt may be found in the manuscrip collection of the Illinois State Historical Library. An article about a little-known case i which he took part may be found in the October, 1945, *North Carolina Historical Review*, en titled "North Carolinians in Illinois History" by Jay Monaghan.

:ourt for stealing a five dollar bank note, of the value of five dollars, vhich at that time was a penitentiary offense. When the note was pro-luced on the trial it proved to be from some eastern bank, and as the arceny was clearly proved, his counsel directed their attention exclusively o reduce the value of the bill to less than five dollars, and so save their :lient from the penitentiary. They produced some of the bank officers by vhom they proved that that money was at a discount of two or three per :ent.

To rebut this, Fridley called one of the jurors, Mr. Stephen Voris, vho was a prominent merchant of the place. Mr. Voris testified that most of the currency in circulation there, consisted of eastern bank notes, most of which, including this bill, passed at par in ordinary business transac-ions; that he received it at par at his store in payment for goods sold, and also in payment for accounts and notes due him. He introduced several of he merchants of the place who testified to the same thing, and that it vas only when they had to buy eastern exchange, or when they wanted o get specie for a legal tender or the like, that they had to pay a premium vhen using this kind of money. The defendant's counsel insisted strenu-ously that the statute meant gold and silver, which was the only legal ender at the time when the limit was fixed which fixed the value of the hings stolen, which determined whether the offense should be punished n the penitentiary or not. But Fridley was equal to the emergency. In umming up to the jury he pointed out to them, that it was their province o determine the value of the goods taken. "And," said he, "you, Mr. Voris, and these other merchants here, would take this bill at par, in pay-nent for goods sold at your store, or for debts due you, without thinking o shave your customer two or three cents on the dollar, but this infernal ascal here ain't willing to steal it at par! Such monstrous audacity should ?e punished by a year or two extra in the penitentiary." This settled the risoner's case, but the jury only gave him a year of punishment.

Outlawry was rampant in the Illinois of Caton's early circuit-riding lays, especially in Ogle County. Here an organization of counterfeiters nd horse thieves had given the upper Rock River region what might be :alled a national reputation. The outlaws controlled the county offices and legal arrest or conviction was considered an impossibility. To break this ;ang an association of 112 citizens formed themselves into a Vigilance Committee. In broad daylight they called on two of the worst offenders, ;ave them an extra-legal trial and convicted both to death before a firing quad. In the eyes of the law these Vigilantes were all guilty of murder. An indictment was found against them in the September term of the cir-uit court, 1841. John D. Caton was employed to defend the lynchers. Here s his own account of his procedure:

We marched out onto a little isolated peak in the prairie, and I had hem formed in a circle around me, while I called over a list of the de-endants, when all answered to their names except four, who were un-voidably absent. Even the sheriff, in whose nominal custody they were,

was conveniently absent, and no one but the prisoners and myself were within two hundred yards of us. I was assured that no one of them had boasted of the transaction, or in any way admitted that he was present at the time, and I saw no difficulty in the way, except as to the four defendants that were not present, in whose favor a judgment of acquittal was as necessary as to the others; but this was got over by selecting four of the party, each of whom was to answer for one of the absentees when his name should be called in court to plead to the indictment. When all of the many details were arranged for the conduct of the case, we marched back to the court house, which was cleared of all others, as supposed, and when my numerous clients filed in they filled the little court room quite up to the table around which the lawyers sat. While the court was waiting for our appearance it had been occupied with some unimportant business, so that all was ready to proceed with the case when we arrived. The case was at once called, and the clerk proceeded to call the prisoners, who promptly answered to their names. I confess I felt a little anxiety whenever the name of an absentee was called, but the proxies all answered promptly and without another word, until the last answer was made when some one near the door hallooed out in a rather tremulous voice "That ain't him."

This caused a flutter of excitement for a moment, and the judge directed that name to be called again, when the proxy, who was standing away back in the crowd, again responded for his principal, and no one could tell who had interrupted the proceedings in the manner stated. The clerk proceeded with the call of his prisoners, and all were declared to be present, and I entered a plea of not guilty for the whole lot, when the jury was called. Of course, with the number of challenges which we had I could select a jury to suit myself, but I had occasion to use very few challenges. The entire panel was of exceptionally good men, and we accepted the most prominent of these, while the state's attorney made very few challenges. He then proceeded with his testimony but utterly failed to prove that any person had been killed, much less that any of the prisoners had taken any part in killing anybody. The truth was, that no one was present at the trial and execution but the defendants, and no one could be found who had heard any one of them say a word about it. All the witnesses had heard rumors, with which the whole atmosphere was filled and had been ever since the event happened, but of course, these widely differed from each other, and some of them were wildly extravagant, but this was not legal testimony. I did not object to them, because I wished to demonstrate by their contradictory character how unreliable mere rumors are. I called no witnesses, no argument was made to the jury on either side, and I asked the court to instruct the jury that mere rumors were not evidence, which, of course, he did, and explained the law in his own way as to what evidence was necessary to authorize a conviction. The jury were absent but a short time, when they returned with a verdict of acquittal, upon which judgment was entered, and thus ended that celebrated case.

The lawless element were not pleased with this immunity for the Vigilantes. Many of them held a personal grudge against Caton for de

fending the lynchers. Other criminals whom he prosecuted joined with these malcontents. Soon Caton realized that many miscreants in Ogle and adjoining counties were looking for a chance to wreak revenge on him. Caton, in his *Early Bench and Bar*, tells of an exciting night when he thought that the outlaws were going to make a final settlement with him:

When the term closed Mr. Cook and myself started in my buggy for Ottawa, our home. The road led through Hickory Grove, where there were two settlers, Mr. Bartholemew and Mr. Flag. The former entertained travelers in his log cabin, and we often stopped there both before and after.

We arrived there all right in time for supper, had our horse stabled and fed, and prepared to spend the night; but when the nearly full moon came up, which rendered everything almost as light as day, we concluded to hitch up and cross the sixteen-mile prairie to Paw Paw Grove. There was not a single settlement in the whole distance, but the trail was fairly beaten and the road good. We jogged along leisurely talking frequently of the threats we had heard, but entertaining no fear of their execution, till we reached Plum Thicket, six miles on our way. This was a little patch of but a few acres of wild plum trees and very few thick underbrush, and containing a few trees of considerable size, and is situated directly on the north bank of Kite Creek. This dense thicket had been mentioned as a favorite rendezvous for horse thieves, where they were in the habit of concealing their stolen property, and one of us had suggested that it was a likely place for them to make an attack upon us if they so intended, but for the reasons before stated we had no apprehension of this. The trail ran along on the north side of the grove and as close as possible to the hazel thicket, which bordered it. Into this thicket we could not see a yard, and all was dark in the somber gloom beyond it. Just as we got opposite the middle of the grove, one within it, and pretty close to us, hallooed out: "Who goes there?" And Mr. Cook thinks he saw a man in his shirt sleeves with a rifle in his hand, but I did not observe him. At this I confess my heart jumped pretty well up in my throat, and I will venture the opinion that it was much the same way with Mr. Cook; but I doubt if it occurred to him, that as I sat upon the right side and next the grove I might possibly serve as a shield to him, not did that, then, occur to me.

Neither of us spoke a word when we heard this salutation; but I gave Snap a check of the reins, which he well understood, and went on at a slashing trot, and in two minutes passed through the ford of the creek with a great splash, and up the steep bank on the other side, without losing a single step in his long swinging trot. Not a single word passed between us, until we had got a mile from the ford, when I inquired if his shotgun, which lay by his side, was loaded, but he was not sure whether it was or not. We passed over the twelve miles, of course, to Paw Paw Grove, canvassing the situation as we went along, and soon concluded that there were no horse thieves or their sympathizers in Plum Thicket, but that probably some innocent travelers had camped there for the night, who, to amuse themselves, had hailed us in the manner stated,

and this is as near as I ever came to suffering the performance of the many threats which I have received for the performance of official duties.

Caton's sense of humor is apparent in another quotation from his book. He was not a humorist. A very large man physically, he did not have the jollity that often goes with flesh. His mind was matter-of-fact. Perhaps long association with the law had made him talk like the ideal witness. The following shows his conception of the ludicrous:

Once when trying a case in the Peoria Circuit Court I was provoked to laughter to such a degree that I was unable to control it. The case was tried by Wm. L. May[2] on one side, and by Knolton[3] on the other. May had received a fair education, but that was all. He was a politician by profession, and was a fairly good lawyer as well. Knolton was a collegiate graduate, but was very uncouth in his manners and exceedingly slovenly in his habits. The case involved the construction or repair of a house, and in the course of the trial some technical architectural terms were used one of which was written out in the pleadings, which May had frequent occasion to use in the course of his cross-examination. This term was not pronounced as it was properly spelled in the pleadings. Whenever he had occasion to use this term he pronounced it as it was spelled. Whenever he did this Knolton would correct him in the pronunciation in a low voice but so everybody could hear him. This was very offensive to May, and every time the correction was repeated he got madder and madder. He had a very fair complexion and sandy hair. Finally his face grew livid and his red hair seemed to stand on end. Knolton did not observe this, but kept on repeating the correction as often as opportunity occurred. At length the explosion came, when May jumped to his feet, his powerful frame fairly trembling with emotion; he leaned across the table right over Knolton, and brandishing his fists he exclaimed: "Perhaps you know you say you do! Perhaps you are right, you say you are! Perhaps you are a learned man, you say you are! Perhaps you have been through college you say you have! But I never saw your diploma, and I wouldn't judge you had by the way you talk." Knolton, who had not observed the rising storm, turned partly around, and looking into May's face seemed struck dumb by the fearful expression on his countenance and his wild gesticulation, and fairly crouched down as if to avoid an attack which he was in nowise prepared to resist.

Now, this does not seem very funny or laughable when described in words, so it must have been the accompanying incidents which made it seem so supremely ludicrous to me. The sort of climax which May poured out upon his crouching victim before him was uttered very rapidly and distinctly with all the force and vehemence which his rage could inspire. At least I was so overcome with laughter that I had to get down beneath the bench as if to pick up something until I could decently compose myself.

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[2] William L. May, a Kentuckian by birth, was elected once to the Illinois legislature and twice to the U. S. Congress.

[3] Lincoln B. Knowlton, known as the Henry Clay of the Illinois bar. A Whig in politics he was intimate with Abraham Lincoln, sat in the state constitutional convention of 1847 and was Free Soil candidate for governor in 1852.

Perhaps enough has been quoted to show the quality of Caton's writings, but one more excerpt is such a perfect example of the lucidity of his style in *Early Bench and Bar* that it deserves inclusion. The following is a part of his chapter on "The Frailty of Human Memory:"

I have often been impressed, not to say alarmed, with my observations demonstrating the frailty of human memory. When we remember how much of our rights, our liberties and our lives depend upon human testimony, founded upon human memory, we may well feel alarmed when we see how frail our memories are. Laying aside the want of integrity and intentional falsehood, which, of themselves, may well cause us to fear that the truth may be perverted or denied, much more danger is to be apprehended from misrecollection or erroneous observation of occurring events, as they transpire. In the ascertainment of truth, much more is to be feared from the honest witness than from the corrupt perjurer. The falsehood of the latter is much more easily detected than the mistakes of the former. I might write a volume giving my observations on this subject, and yet leave much untold; still I should repeat much that might be paralleled by the observations of others.

Let me relate one instance of many, in my own experience, showing how unreliable is our recollection of past events.

In the spring of 1835 three of us, then young men, planned a horseback excursion with three young ladies of Chicago. The late C. B. Dodson with Miss Sherman, now Mrs. Thomas Church; Horace Chamberlin, who not long after lost his life in the Texas revolution, and Miss Rose Hathaway, many years since deceased, who was a sister of the late Mrs. John Calhoun, of Chicago, and myself with Miss Agnes Spence, constituted the party. All were good riders, and all the horses selected were spirited and lively. The trip laid out was to go down to the Calumet river, twelve miles distant, where we would take lunch, and then return to the city. The way led us along the road south four miles to the oak woods, thence through timber all the way to Hale's tavern, situated on the banks of the Calumet, at the crossing of that stream. The road was considerably traveled, but through the timber was confined to a single wagon track, which wound along through the trees, sometimes close to the shore of the lake, at others a short distance from it, according as the nature of the forest or the ground permitted. The first four miles were over the usual race course, where those who had fast horses were in the frequent habit of trying conclusions, and as soon as we struck this race course Miss Spence's horse showed that it was familiar ground to him, and he plunged ahead in a way that showed that he thought it his duty to win another race there. I soon caught his rein and brought him down, while the lady protested I should leave it all to her, that she could manage him, and would give him as long a run as he wanted; but to this I would not consent. Her widowed mother had allowed her to come with me very reluctantly, fearing that some accident might befall her, and it was only upon my repeated assurance that I would take the greatest possible care of her and would be absolutely responsible for her safety, that she had consented. This incident no doubt prompted me to greater caution than I

might otherwise have exercised, so I took a check rein, attached to the bit of her horse, and carried it in my hand all the way. She chafed at this almost as much as the horse did, and she soon convinced me that she was a superior rider, and could manage the horse with skill; but I knew if he should take it into his head to run away in the forest, which we were approaching, she would be powerless to manage him, so I presistently held the check rein. We had our little dashes all the same, and each exhilarating run served to elevate our spirits and made us forget our prudent resolutions.

Finally Dodson proposed a race between our ladies, which was promptly accepted upon the condition that he should ride abreast with his lady, while the check-rein compelled me to do the same with mine. The roadway was narrow, but for half a mile ahead was straight and the timber open, and so we all dashed ahead at top speed, and the half mile of straight road was quickly covered. We then took a turn to the left, so that we could not see the road before us until we reached the turn. I was on the extreme right with Miss Spence on my left, and next to her was Miss Sherman, with Dodson on the extreme left. This gave the ladies the middle of the track, while we were on the outer sides. When we turned a bend in the road at full speed I was appalled. A large oak tree stood on the left hand side near the road, from which a large limb projected out over the road. Near the trunk it was high enough to allow a horseman to pass under it, but further on it bent down, so that I saw it must inevitably sweep my lady from the saddle, while I, by changing my position a little could escape it. I pulled up both of our horses with such force as to throw them on their haunches, and told her to throw herself back intending to catch her on my left arm, but when I extended my arm for this purpose I found that it was restrained by my riding whip which I held in my hand looped around the left arm. The consequence was that she fell backward to the ground between the horses, at the very instant that I threw them upon their haunches, by pulling them up with all my might. No one can imagine my feelings at that moment, when it seemed certain she must be trampled to death, and the picture came up before me of carrying her mangled corpse back to her widowed mother whom we had left so short a time before. As soon as possible I turned around to see the result, and was astonished to see that she had already regained her feet and was shaking the dust from her riding habit. Of course I dismounted as soon as possible, and ran up to her, but was so paralyzed that I could hardly ask her where she was hurt, and led her to a log near by, where she sat down saying she believed she was not hurt at all. By this time the rest of the party had come up and an examination was instituted. It was found that a curl or lock of hair near her forehead had been cut off by a cork of one of the horse-shoes, which had stepped upon it, as it dropped upon a stone in the road. Still the severed hairs were hanging intertwined with the others. The only scratch found was upon one of the ankles, where a cork had cut a hole in the stocking, but hardly discoloring the skin, and she insisted that the jar of the fall had not hurt her in the least.

Chamberlin and Miss Hatheway had followed along so as to keep near us, and they described the scene as fairly appalling when they saw

her fall head first between the horses at the very instant they were so violently drawn back. That was an escape which may not often be paralleled, and I am sure that I felt the shock longer than the lady did, for in a very short time she was as lively as ever.

We soon mounted and pursued our journey to Hale's tavern, where we got our lunch and spent an hour or two with about as much joyous jollity as six young people knew how to raise. We then returned to the city without incident. There was no more running of horses that day.

Many years later, when I was holding the Circuit Court at Geneva, Kane county, during a social chat with Mr. Dodson, I incidentally mentioned that it occurred when we were going out. "No," said he, "It took place when we were returning." I insisted that it occurred while we were going out, and referred to the fact that I had observed the lake on our left during the race, whereas if it had occurred on our return the lake would have been on our right. Now, there are few events in my past life which are as deeply impressed on my memory as this, and I feel absolutely certain that I am right in my recollection. Indeed, I well remember that the whole matter was discussed when we stopped for lunch; but all the incidents to which I could refer in confirmation of my recollection, could not have the least influence in the belief of Mr. Dodson, and his conviction was so fixed that I have not the least doubt he would have sworn to it without hesitation, if he knew that his own life depended on the truth of his statement; and my belief in the correctness of my recollection of the event, and that it occurred while we were going out, is equally strong, though my observations have taught me to distrust my own memory as well as that of others, and so even in this I may have been wrong; but I must say that I do not believe it is so.

Judge Caton was married to Laura Adelaide Sherill of New Hartford, New York, in July, 1835. After his retirement in 1864, he and his wife lived most of the time at Ottawa, where he owned a beautiful home surrounded by extensive grounds. They also spent considerable time in Chicago with their children. Numerous trips during these years took them to all parts of the United States and to various foreign countries. Some of their travel experiences are included in the Judge's writings.

Caton's literary career began with a philosophical dissertation on *Matter and a Supreme Intelligence* in 1864. This was followed in 1875 by *A Summer in Norway*. Next he published a scientific study of *The Antelope and Deer of America* (1877). In 1880, Caton published a volume of *Miscellanies*. His most enduring work, *Early Bench and Bar of Illinois*, which is the subject of this sketch, appeared in his eighty-first year. Many of the incidents included in this work had been printed in the *Chicago Legal News* as a series of short articles, a few years previously. Caton died on July 30, 1895.

HISTORICAL NOTE

PIONEER VOCABULARY REMAINS IN SOUTHERN ILLINOIS

Local historians have produced a prolific literature on almost every phase of our pioneer period. And in our museums, relics from every field of pioneer culture have been carefully preserved. About the only phase of pioneer culture not extensively exploited by the local historian is that of pioneer vocabulary. Yet an examination of the current vocabulary of the descendants of the pioneer population of southern Illinois reveals some relics as interesting in their own way as those of a more material kind preserved in our museums. Until quite recently, this section of Illinois has been comparatively isolated. For this reason, it offers better opportunities for a study of this sort than any other section of the state, for older language forms tend to persist most tenaciously in isolated communities.

One of the most useful possessions of the pioneer of the log-cabin era was the pot used for cooking at the big open fireplace. Out of the use of the pot evolved certain figurative expressions still in more or less common use in this area. The metaphor, "Put the big pot in the little one," and the simile, "Quick as the leg off a pot," may yet be heard on occasion among genuine pioneer folk here. To "put the big pot in the little one" means that you will be especially welcome to pay a visit and stay for dinner. A swift, unexpected happening is indicated by "quick as the leg off a pot." Both expressions are akin to the more common "The pot shouldn't call the kettle black," and "There's a lid for every pot."

Other pioneer names of household equipment such as "safe" for cupboard, "fireboard" for mantel, and "budget" for bag, continue in occasional use here. Commercially the kitchen cabinet has almost universally superseded the word "safe," but the latter word still persists among a few older people in southern Illinois. At least one form of the kitchen safe resembled the kitchen cabinet in its structure, and the use was the same. How the "fireboard," defined by the *Oxford English Dictionary* as "a board used to close up a fireplace in summer," came to be confused in use with mantel is conjectural; but some of the older people here still use the word in that sense. Though the use of "budget" as defined by Webster —"a bag or sack with its contents; hence, a stock or store"—is now

obsolete, it is still heard occasionally here for traveling bag, suitcase, or valise. In earlier days, when the pack peddler was a common visitor, his pack, usually a large suitcase, was called a "budget." This usage dates back at least to the fifteenth century, according to the *Oxford English Dictionary*.

A cursory examination of the letters and papers of Col. George Rogers Clark, Daniel Boone, and others who pushed across the Appalachians during the Revolutionary period, reveals certain peculiarities of form and usage, some of which we still find in southern Illinois. These forms are now found almost exclusively among relatively unlearned natives of strictly pioneer descent. Among these survivals, the following are particularly noticeable:

1. An "a" at the beginning, as in "acomeing" and "agoing."[1]

2. Substitution of "e" for "a" or "o," evidently phonetic, as in "peticular" or "perticular"[2] (particular), "opertunity" or "oppertunity"[3] (opportunity), "selicit"[4] (solicit), and "ketch"[5] (catch).

3. Substitution of "a" for "e" in "whare"[6] (where), "cag" or "kag"[7] (keg), "ware" or "war"[8] (were), "sarve"[9] (serve), "cradet"[10] (credit).

4. Confusion of certain common words, such as "loose" for lose, "excepted" for accepted, and "their" for there.[11]

5. Certain dialectic words such as "boot,"[12] "nigh,"[13] and "swap."[14]

6. Expressions such as "dad drabit," an expression of annoyance.[15]

7. Other American vulgate such as "got to"[16] for arrive, "evening" for afternoon, "pint" for point, and "apintment"[17] for appointment.

Southern Illinois has also retained a number of dialect peculiarities explainable on the basis of racial inheritance. It is believed that the bulk

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[1] James Alton James, ed., *George Rogers Clark Papers 1771-1781 (Illinois Historical Collections*, VIII, Springfield, 1912) 1, 11.
[2] *Ibid.*, 3, 11.
[3] *Ibid.*, 1, 2, 9, 10, 131.
[4] *Ibid.*, 115, 116, 128.
[5] *Ibid.*, 250.
[6] *Ibid.*, 10, 24, 215, 222, 227.
[7] *Ibid.*, 71, 211.
[8] *Ibid.*, 216, 222, 224, 225.
[9] John Bakeless, *Daniel Boone* (New York, 1939), 326.
[10] *Ibid.*, 329.
[11] Clark's customary usage.
[12] James, ed., *Clark Papers*, 23, 25.
[13] *Ibid.*, 41.
[14] *Ibid.*, 23, 25.
[15] Bakeless, *Daniel Boone*, 147.
[16] James, ed., *Clark Papers*, 24, 26, 27, 28.
[17] Bakeless, *Daniel Boone*, 336.

of the pioneer population of this area came from the predominantly Scotch-Irish stock that originally settled in the southern Appalachian highlands.[18] People of this stock in southern Illinois have many dialect characteristics in common with their relatives in the principal southern Appalachian localities.[19] This dialect is very generally believed to be "largely a survival of earlier English rather than a degradation of language."[20]

In this category, we may list words like "quar" (queer), "war" (were), " 'gin" (before), "drap" (drop), and "hunker" (squat). Berrey reports these as survivals of Scotch dialect in the Appalachian highlands.[21] In southern Illinois, these words are limited almost exclusively to elderly people whose forebears stem from the southern highland stock, the so-called Scotch-Irish. Isolation, unfavorable economic conditions, and limited educational facilities have no doubt been strong contributing factors in the preservation of forms like those noted above. The same comment applies to "deef" (deaf), "hit" (it), and "a body" (one, a person). The pronunciation of deaf as "deef" is a retention of an old but correct usage.[22] "Hit" was the Old English neuter of he. "Body," used by Shakespeare, implies a person of humble class.[23] Old forms of the past tense survive in "holp," "swum," "clumb," "wropped," "drug," and like words.

"Gaum" (muss) and "infare" (a wedding reception given by the groom's family) are dialectal words that enjoy a limited use here. Others are "afeard" (obsolete of afraid), "ary" and "nary," a "heap" or a "right smart" (large amount), and "piece" (a short distance). "Kiver" (cover) and "cowcumber" (cucumber) are Essex dialect survivals.[24] And "h'isted" (hoisted), "chaw" (chew), and "sass" (sauce) are of Irish origin.[25]

Dialectal descriptive expressions of persons or conditions tend to be colorful. If he does not feel well, the native says he feels "no 'count" or "poorly;" if his condition is serious, he is said to be "bad off." A below-par individual is called a "sorry" person. Tired from exertion, he is "plumb beat." "Stout" and "pussy" (pursy) describe a person who has

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[18] Solon Justus Buck, *Illinois in 1818* (*Centennial History of Illinois*, Introd. Vol., Springfield, 1917), 96-97.

[19] H. L. Mencken, *The American Language* (New York, 1936), 358 ff., on the "Dialect of Appalachia."

[20] Lester V. Berrey, "Southern Mountain Dialect," *American Speech*, Vol. XV, No. 1 (Feb., 1940), 45.

[21] *American Speech*, Feb., 1940, 46.

[22] George Philip Krapp, *Modern English, Its Growth and Present Use* (New York, 1909), 137.

[23] Joseph Wright, ed., *English Dialect Dictionary*.

[24] Mencken, *American Language*, 129.

[25] *Ibid.*, 161.

gained weight and one who has become overly fat. To "hanker for" indicates a special desire for something.

A tendency to caution about making positive statements is indicated by the frequent use of "reckon," "figure," "allow," and similar expressions. Even though a person may at the time be on his way to town, for instance, he will avoid a positive admission but will say, "I figure I'll drive into town." If you ask to hunt in his back pasture, he qualifies his consent with a reluctant "I reckon you can." "Allow" or " 'low" is a substitute for suppose. This cautious attitude often verges on the pessimistic. Our Scotch-Irish pioneer "never counts his chickens afore they're hatched."

The first pioneers who pushed across the Appalachian barrier to the westward were inclined to "put off" doing even vitally necessary things. This tendency has not been discarded by many of their descendants, who are "amind to," or have been "layin' off to," or "putting off to" mend the roof or some other task. There is a grain of truth in the well-known story of the man who could not mend his roof because it was raining and who did not mend it in fair weather because it did not leak then.

Place names tell us some interesting things about pioneer origins, habits, aspirations, and so on. A number of southern Illinois towns take their names from the place of origin of their founders. Chester was named for Chester, England; Bremen, in Randolph County, for Bremen, Germany. The nineteenth-century proclivity for romantic adventure in lands of fabulous wealth is preserved in the names of Eldorado and Golconda. Towns named Liberty, Equality, and Independence emphasize the pioneer thirst for democratic institutions. Eden, Joppa, Lebanon, and Shiloh bespeak the Biblical influence. The classics contributed Sparta, New Athens, and Troy. And Egyptian influences are particularly strong. The whole area is called Egypt, and it follows that Egyptian place names are quite common. Among these are Cairo, Thebes, and Karnak. The Indian, too, has left his mark in a number of place names, including Shawneetown, Tamaroa, and DuQuoin. Pioneer forts survive in such names as West Frankfort (Frank's Fort), and Stonefort, located near one of several stone forts of conjectural origin. Places named for more or less prominent early citizens are, of course, very numerous.

Attached to many of our place names are pioneer stories—history, legend, or folklore. The frontier propensity for naming or nicknaming places from actual happenings occurs frequently in early southern Illinois history. One such story attached itself to the town of Carrier Mills, in Saline County, during the pioneer period, and persists to this day as a local legend and popular name for the town. When the town consisted of

a single log-cabin store in the midst of an area of half-cleared woodland, a shrewd local citizen successfully perpetrated the much-admired frontier trick of selling the storekeeper a catskin for a minkskin; and he won local immortality by repeating the trick with the same skin, which he removed surreptitiously from the trader's loft. Afterwards local people called the place "Catskin," and the nickname is still in common use, despite the fact that years ago the town was incorporated under the official name of Carrier Mills.

In conclusion, it seems correct to say that the language survivals of an area tell in their own way the history of that area. From dialectal survivals we can learn much about the racial origins of our early settlers, and something of the type of people they were and their habits and ways of living. These survivals also enable us to estimate after a fashion the present social status and the extent to which people in certain localities have adjusted themselves to changing conditions. And from place names we get a general notion of the ideals that motivated the founders. Every name, every form or expression has its own useful information about the local history of the place where it has survived.

JESSE W. HARRIS

CARBONDALE, ILL.

THE ILLINOIS SCRAPBOOK

RECOLLECTIONS OF THE NAUVOO TEMPLE

Many years have passed away since I visited this extraordinary wonder, and time has somewhat dimmed the recollection thereof; but a few points have fixed themselves in my memory, which have not been encircled by cloud and mist, and these only I shall present.

The morning was clear and bright and the air, though hot, was now and then swayed by a refreshing breeze, which tended greatly to relieve the oppression arising from the tedium of the journey.

We had approached to within seven miles of the city, and and [*sic*] just emerged from a thick forest of trees and saplings, into the open road, when we caught a glimpse of the lofty tower rising like a pointed spire far into the clouds, and looking gray and distinct in the morning sun. As we gradually drew near, the tower seemed to grow taller and more massive, until the whole structure, bathed in the clear sunlight, burst on our enraptured vision. Standing as it was on the top of an elevation, in the centre of the city, every part could be distinctly seen and surveyed.

Above it stood the armory—a massive rough looking stone building,—where were wont to be stored away munitions of war, ordnance and muskets, to be used only when troublous times should come. Other ordinary looking buildings stood on the hill; but these by their unprepossessing appearance only tended to make the Temple look more grand.

It was a beautiful sight! The gray massive pile, standing then in silent grandeur, looking over the whole scene with a quiet solemnity of aspect, affording a striking contrast to the use for which it was originally intended. . . . We alighted at the Nauvoo House, once Joe Smith's private residence, and, having partaken of the good cheer of our worthy host, Mynheer Bidemon, a good natured rosy looking Dutchman, we set out to survey minutely the object of our journey.

A short walk brought us to the base of the elevation on which it rested, and we had the majestic proportions of the entire structure before us. We paused in front to take a general survey of the whole, before we entered. What a grand and magnificent spectacle it presented! As we looked upon it we could hardly realize that the people who had built it

and worshipped there had left it to go into a far off country, never to return, and we could sympathize with them as we imagined how they took one last, fond, lingering look at the object they had long loved, ere they departed forever. . . . The limestone of which it was constructed and in which the state of Illinois abounds, was well worked. Smith must have employed in its erection some of the most skilful architects and stone masons in the country.

Plain but massive columns of the Doric order, were fixed in the sides throughout the entire building,—on the broad basis of which was carved a very large crescent,—which on the capitals high up in the air, a cherub grasping in one hand a trumpet, in the other a book, seemed peeping out from under the eaves. Now and then, the surface would present a bruise, showing the effects of the cannon of the sacrilegious Anti-Mormon host,—reminding me of "the times that tried mens [*sic*] souls.

Casting our eye upward over the doorway, we beheld conspicuously emblazoned in large gilt capitals on the white stone this inscription "*Holiness to the Lord. The Temple of the Latter-day Saints*," when founded and when completed. The dates I have forgotten. The front extended into the immense tower, rising huge and majestic before us, the summit of which was almost lost in the clouds.

We ascended the steps and had no sooner entered within the vestibule, than a very polite cicerone was ready to conduct us through its labyrinth of rooms. We first entered the basement, the floor of which we had no sooner gained than our eyes rested upon the great baptismal font constructed of solid limestone, seemingly resting on the backs of six milk-white oxen, carved from solid blocks of stone. They were well executed and with their bright eyes of glass and well-formed ears, looked exceedingly life-like, and altogether presented a very handsome appearance. I said the basin *seemed* to rest on them; but in reality it rested on a foundation of its own, composed of heavy blocks of stone, closely joined together, and fashioned in the form of a circle. The oxen were not fully developed but resting on their fore-feet, the middle of their bodies was firmly cemented to that circular foundation, and thus the basin seemed to rest directly on their backs. Formerly here were placed wooden oxen painted, which I saw in one of the upper rooms, but they were only temporary, and were replaced by these of stone. A flight of stone steps, with iron railing on each side, led up to the font, and a similar flight on the other side descended therefrom. It was a damp, gloomy looking place and very chilly.

After having contemplated for a sufficient length of time this curious piece of sculpture, and having walked through the opening where many

trusting saints received the ordinance of baptism, and as thereby (as they confidently believed,) enrolled their names among the chosen of God's people; we returned by the way we entered, and as our cicerone told us it was better to commence our examination at the top and come down, we assented, and began forthwith our ascent up the steep spiral staircase. We slowly progressed upward through the intermediate windings, passing by the circular windows, filled with glass of divers colors, which threw an obscure light on our passage. It was said that the round windows were to be used as portholes, in any case of emergency. This might have been the intention of the Mormons; for they were certainly large enough to admit of the discharge of heavy ordnance with facility.

Arrived at the top, we turned and cast a look downward. The distant floor was not distinguished from the extreme turnings of the spire. It seemed as if we were looking down into an immense *corkscrew*, the terminal windings of which were lost in obscurity. Halting a few moments to take breath, we began to ascend the tower; and as the inside of this was not entirely finished, an excellent chance was afforded us to observe the massive strength of the frame-work, and perceive the solidity and view to durability, with which it was constructed. The bare timbers presented a never-ending system of braces, each supporting the other successively. The Mormons certainly knew how to build, if they were a deluded people in some other respects.

After ascending some distance, a series of steps which were very steep, a short stairway brought us to the end of our wearisome journey, and, emerging through a small opening in the side, we gained access to the open air. We now stood on the extreme summit of the tower, some 200 feet from the ground. A beautiful and extensive prospect presented itself to the eye. Far in the dim distance could be faintly perceived the outlines of Keokuk, some 13 miles below. On the west rolled smoothly and majestically the broad Mississippi. To the east a beautiful level country, dotted over here and there with a flourishing farms [*sic*], and herds of cattle grazing between. While all around, the city lay spread out before us a map—a multitude of houses, empty and deserted, where once dwelt a thriving, happy and industrious people, and the streets, once crowded with bustle and business now overgrown with weeds. *Sic transit gloria humana*, thought I.

Although I hate the detestable customs and practices of the Mormons,—and although the outrages and robberies which they perpetrated on the peaceable farmers of the country, are still fresh in my memory,—yet it did look hard that so many quiet families should be forced to emigrate from their houses, the sight of the temple they loved, and turn their

weary steps towards the setting sun—that the innocent should thus b made to suffer with the guilty and richly deserving. A low balustrade en circled the huge dome, between which and the former wound a narrov path-way much worn by the feet of visitors. Many names were scratche on the dome and cut in the balustrade, by ambitious persons who wishe to be remembered to posterity. This is characteristic of the Saxon race. . .

On the top of the dome was affixed a large representation of the ange Gabriel, with wings expanded, holding in one hand a trumpet, and in th other a book, twelve feet in length, composed of tin gilded. But the win blew briskly, and the massive superstructure began to tremble and seeme to rock to and fro. It made one's blood run cold to feel the mass quive and shake beneath him at such a height. We felt a little dizzy, and quickl descended.

We now entered the first room before us—the uppermost one in th whole building. It had never been finished; but the double row of Com posite columns, of excellent workmanship, traversing its entire length and the sky-lights of colored glass with which it was lighted, as well a the general appearance of the combined whole, shewed us that it was in tended to surpass all the rest in the richness and taste of its decorations We did not know the use for which it was intended; but it was not th general belief that it was to have been used as a gallery of arts; if so, i would have been well appropriated. But the death of Smith put an en to their designs in this matter. The next room directly below this was very large one, with small rooms, eight or ten feet square, on each side— all finished in the plainest possible manner.—What they intended to d with this hall or these rooms, has ever remained a mystery. As they wer all besmeared with grease and oil, they might have been used in som baptismal ceremony, when the new convert was annointed [*sic*] with hol oil, and was conducted through a great many wild ceremonies by th priests. It was said by some, and believed by others, that strange dance were carried on in the Hall by Smith and his priests, when the abomina tions of the spiritual-wife system were practiced. Conjectures, however are worthless.—All I can say is, that if they ever used this as a ball-room it certainly answered the intended purpose well.

But we descended the stair-way, and the last room remained to b explored. This was the grand audience chamber—the Inner Temple—th "*Sanctum Sanctorum.*" We entered within its ample doors. It was a mag nificent room, capable of seating a great concourse of people. The wood work of the doors and windows was composed of beautifully carved work The top of the door jams [*sic*] being ornamented with Corinthian capital of the most exquisite workmanship. But these, alas! shewed the marks o

sacrilegious hands of the visitors who wished to preserve some relic of the wonderful edifice. The beautiful vine-work had been deprived of many a delicately executed leaf and bud, and a smiling cherub of its nose—then, another of the feathered tip of its wing. . . .

A series of seats, elevated one above another, was situated in the middle of each of the two sides, on the heads of which, were inscribed the initial letters of the degree which the priest held. The highest seat was for the highest dignitary—generally filled by the prophet himself. Various inscriptions in large gilt letters were placed on the walls, in conspicuous places. There were numerous other seats for private members. The room was built very close and compact, and the ceiling was very lofty, so that when we conversed in an ordinary tone of voice, the sound rebounded back and forth, until finally lost in echos [*sic*]. When filled with people, a strong voice must have sounded remarkably clear and distinct.

Our survey of the temple was completed, and we walked slowly out with peculiar feelings.—And as we turned away from the scene, we often looked back upon the gradually receding proportions of the stately pile, until it was lost in the distance. Some time after this it was set on fire and consumed—nothing being left but the four solitary walls. When Cabet, with his colony of Red Republicans, landed at Nauvoo, and became settled there, they conceived the design of building it up again, and constructing out of its ruins a general workshop. But this scheme was thwarted. A heavy storm laid prostrate three of the walls, and the remaining one was pulled down. Now nothing marks the spot where once stood this magnificent structure, but a heap of ruins.

Illinois Journal, Dec. 9, 1853.

A LITTLE KNOWN LINCOLN STORY

I made a visit on business one summer to Springfield, Illinois, where Mr. Lincoln resided; and while standing on the sidewalk, on the shady side of the hotel where I was stopping, Mr. Lincoln came along with his youngest pet boy, "Tad," who was holding on to the tip of the tail of his father's frock-coat. After receiving his accustomed cheerful greeting, we drew up chairs in the shade, and at once engaged in talking politics. Tad changed his position by taking refuge between his father's knees, and remaining there a silent listener during our conversation. In a short time his only remaining child, "Bob,"[1] who was considerably older than Tad, came along, and, noticing us, also stopped and joined our circle. In a side

[1] The author has forgotten Willie Lincoln who died in the White House.

conversation that ensued between the two brothers, the purport of which I had not noticed, something had been said that induced their father to pause for a moment in his conversation with me, and turning to the boys exclaimed, "Tad, show Mr. Davis the knife I bought you yesterday," and turning to me added, "It's the first knife Tad ever had, and it's a big thing for him." Tad hesitating, and making no reply, his father asked, "You haven't lost your knife, have you?" "No, but I ain't got any." "What has become of it?" inquired Mr. Lincoln in his quizzical and usual smiling, pleasant way. There was another momentary pause on the part of Tad, when he replied to his father, in the fullness of his childish simplicity, and the truthfulness which was a prominent element of his birthright, "Bob told me, if he was me, he'd swap my knife for candy." At this Mr. Lincoln gave one of his inimitable, good-natured laughs, and turning to Bob (who, by this time, wore somewhat the semblance of slight embarrassment), but without the slightest change in either his merry tone or manner asked, "Bob, how much did you pay for that candy?" Bob naming the price, his father replied to him, "Why, Tad's knife cost three bits (37 ½ cents); do you think you made a fair trade with Tad?" Bob, in a prompt and manly tone, which I never shall forget, answered his father, "No, sir," and taking the knife out of his pocket, said, "Here, Tad, is your knife," which Tad with evident delight took back, but without a word of comment. Their father, however, said to the eldest, "I guess, Bob, that's about right on your part; and now, Tad, as you've got your knife, you must give back to Bob the candy he gave you for the knife." Tad exclaimed, "I can't, 'cause I ate up all the candy Bob give me, and I ain't got no money to buy it." "Oh!" said Mr. Lincoln, "what will you do then? Bob must have his candy back to make things square between you." Tad was evidently in a quandary, and was at a loss how to get out of it, but his father, after waiting a few moments, and without making the slightest comment, handed Tad a "bit" (12 ½ cents). Tad looked at it with a good deal of satisfaction, and shrieked out in his boyish glee, "Come on, Bob, I'll get your candy back for you!" Both the father and myself joined in a hearty laugh, and as the lads started off, Mr. Lincoln cried out to them, "Boys, I reckon that's about right between you. Bob, do you take Tad right home as soon as he has paid you the candy."

Autobiography of the Late Col. Geo. T. M. Davis (1891), 362-64.

A CIVIL WAR G. I.'S COMPLAINT

We left Camp Fry at seven o'clock on our march to the depot of the Pittsburgh and Fort Wayne railroad. . . . The train provided for us was comfortable and we had a pleasurable journey to Pittsburgh, where a change of cars was necessitated. The only train that we could get at the time was made up from the debris of the rolling-stock of the road and consisted of old, worn-out cattle and stock cars with rough pine boards for seats arranged around the sides, for the men, and a second-hand coach for the officers. The majority of the officers were justly indignant at such treatment, when their transportation called for first-class, and they came in a body to Dr. Clark, to have a protest made, based on sanitary reasons. He went to the Colonel, who was busy talking with the Superintendent of the road, and opened his battery of wrath (backed by all the mutineers), saying that a protest had been made by all the commissioned officers against submitting to such indignity for themselves or men, adding that he, in his capacity of surgeon, charged with the sanitary condition of the enlisted men, most strenuously objected to the train, which was fit only for the transportation of cattle and hogs. "Go 'way," says the Colonel, "and mind your business!" This settled it. There was no farther use in trying to get a change of cars, and the Doctor left the Colonel's presence, merely remarking that if he persisted in accepting that train he might ride alone. Before the train started some of the officers relented and jumped aboard, leaving some nine or more behind to await the express train. After loitering around the city until fairly tired, and with the conviction that we had been guilty of a great breach of discipline as well as being very silly, we made steps for the depot at midnight and took the express. We overtook our train on the other side of the mountain, at Altoona, where the regiment had stopped for breakfast, and rejoined them with very guilty feelings as well as looks. After breakfast we got aboard the proper train, and were soon *en route* for Chambersburg.

After a little the Colonel sent his orderly around with invitations for such and such an one to report, and on reporting, they were invariably placed under arrest to await a future disposition. At last the Colonel sent his orderly with his compliments, and would be glad to see Dr. Clark at his headquarters on board train. The Doctor mustered his courage and dignity, and amid the smiles of his *confreres* in the same fix went up the aisle to the front of the car and took a seat beside his superior officer—the Colonel, who said, "Why did you, sir, disobey my orders when told to get aboard the train?"

"Well, sir," replied the Doctor, "why did you pay no attention to

the protest, which was made in the interests of your command? I am intrusted with their health and felt in duty bound to remonstrate against their being huddled together like so many dumb brutes, and still maintain my position in the matter."

"Well, sir," said [*Colonel*] Osborn, "you have disobeyed my orders, and I shall write to the Surgeon-General concerning your conduct."

"All right, sir," replied the Doctor, who said he also would write, detailing particularly all the circumstances.

As was expected, before reaching Washington all the disobedient officers had been released from arrest and everything was again pleasant and serene, although it would have served us right to have been more severely punished for this mutinous conduct. The discipline in a majority of the volunteer regiments for infractions of this character was more apparent than real. It was impossible for a superior officer of the same command to enforce the rigid discipline of the regular army and tyrannize over men who, at home, were fully his equals, if not more, in all relations of a social or pecuniary character, and as the war would not last forever there might come a reckoning for past grievances in the shape of insults and punishments given and taken while dressed in a "little brief authority" and protected for the time by military law. This, however, would be no excuse where the good of the service would be compromised, and in all well-disciplined regiments the disobedience of a subaltern of whatever grade, or the refusal to do duty while in the face and front of the enemy, was most rigidly punished.

History of the Thirty-Ninth Regiment, Illinois Volunteer Veteran Infantry (1889), 169-71.

TEMPERANCE IN EDGAR COUNTY

Mr. Shrader attributes, in a great measure, his good health and long life to temperate habits. He says that, in the early times, drinking whisky was almost as universal among the men as eating bread, and that, for some time, he was the only example of a total-abstinence man. Formerly, he, with all others, indulged to a limited extent; but, he relates that once, on the occasion of an election in Grand View, coming to the polls late in the day, he found more than an ordinary number "boozy," and was disgusted by having two of the most "oblivious" politicians, almost before he had dismounted from his horse, take him, one holding each arm, by main or intoxicated strength, to the bucket of whisky that stood near the polling-place, with a view to "giving him a little backbone." Breaking away from them, he then and there, in a loud voice, declared that he would

"never drink again in public." This was taking very strong grounds, for those times, and Mr. Shrader was looked upon as being just a little fanatical. He says that he continued to keep a little of the "creature" in the house, until about a year after, when, having got out timber for a new log house, he invited his friends, all, with one exception, being members of his own (the Methodist) church, to help raise it. It so happened that, on the day set for the "raising," his wife was taken suddenly ill, and it became necessary for him to remain with her, while his friends put up the house. As was not only customary, but of absolute necessity, Mr. Shrader sent over to the scene of the house-building a jug filled with the liquid which "both cheers and inebriates." The result was that, before night, every one of the hands, including the preacher, was drunk; and when Mr. Shrader went out to view his new house, the logs of which he had hewed with such great precision, contemplating having the neatest house in the neighborhood, imagine his disgust to find that it had been spoiled. "It was neither oblong nor square, nor was it such work as he felt like accepting;" but he did accept it with as much grace as possible, all the while blaming himself for furnishing the article that had caused them to see crooked. Then Mr. Shrader vowed that he would never again drink, offer the stuff to others, or in any way countenance its use. He was told that if he persisted in that course he would be unable to get his crops harvested, and that in a short time he would be without friends. But, against all arguments, he stood firm; and when harvest came around, and he went out to hire hands, he told them that coffee was the strongest beverage that he could furnish them. He experienced but little trouble in getting plenty of help, and his harvest was gathered in due season. His example was soon followed by other farmers, and, in a few years after, whisky in the harvest-field was the exception.

WM. LE BARON, JR., & CO., pub., *History of Edgar County, Illinois* (1879), 346-49.

THE MAN FOR WHOM OGLE COUNTY WAS NAMED

Captain Joseph Ogle migrated with the Messrs. Zanes and other families, from the south branch of the Potomac to the vicinity of Wheeling in 1769, where he distinguished himself in the siege of Fort Henry, in 1777. In the summer of 1785, he moved down the Ohio river to the Illinois country, and at first settled in the American bottom, in the present county of Monroe. Being well qualified, he was chosen for a leader of the little band of pioneers, who had to defend themselves from Indian assaults. Indeed he was just such a man as the people in all exposed and frontier set-

tlements look to as their counsellor, guide and commander. He possesse uncommon firmness and self-possession, had great energy, and yet wa mild, peaceable, and kind-hearted in social intercourse; always strivin for the maintenance of peace, good order and justice in the social rela tions. From the spring of 1784 to 1790, there was in fact no organize government in the Illinois country. Some of the forms of law were kep up, but in a truthful sense the people were "a law unto themselves," an Captain Ogle, whom every body respected, was exactly the kind of ma to preserve order. Other pioneers, who had talents and influence, occupie the same position. And this too was the period of Indian alarms, and th people had to do their own fighting. What the poet says of the fictitiou Rolla, applied with much pertinence to Captain Ogle—

> In war, a tiger chafed by the hunter's spear;
> In peace, more gentle than the unwean'd lamb.

He was scrupulously honest, punctual and strict in the fulfillmen of all his engagements, and expected from all his neighbors the same de gree of honesty and punctuality. The following anecdote will furnish a illustration of his true character.

A neighbor, by the name of Sullivan, who was not quite as punctua in performing promises as he ought to have been, borrowed some house logs of Mr. Ogle to finish his cabin, promising to cut and return as man on a certain day. Capt. Ogle had arranged to raise his own cabin the da after the logs became due, but they were not returned. He went wit several men to Sullivan's cabin, told the family to remove any article that might be in the house on the side he was about to pull down, an with handspikes proceeded with great coolness and deliberation to rais the corners and take the logs from the cabin.

The owner alarmed, came out and exclaimed, "Why, Mr. Ogle what do you mean? Do you intend to pull down my house over my head?" "By no means, neighbor Sullivan, I am only getting out my own logs." "Now, Captain Ogle, do stop, and I will go right off to the woods an get you the logs." "Very well, Mr. Sullivan, if you will have the logs a my place to-morrow morning at sunrise, which you promised to hav done today, I will forbear, else I shall take these logs for my cabin to morrow." This was said with the most impassive coolness and delibera tion, and Mr. Sullivan was obliged to perform a most unpleasant night' labor for slackness in his promises.

With uncommon firmness and energy, he united kindness and gentle ness, and ruled the people by a happy blending of fear and love. He wa always a moral man, but became a devout Christian professor from th

first visit of James Smith to the time of his death, in February, 1821, at fourscore years of age. For twenty years he had resided in St. Clair county, about eight miles north of Belleville, and to this day he is spoken of by the old pioneers in the vicinity with the endearing epithet of "Grandfather Ogle."

[J. M. PECK], "*Father Clark,*" *or the Pioneer Preacher* (1860), 209-12.

NEWS AND COMMENT

FORTY-SIXTH ANNUAL MEETING ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Members of the Illinois State Historical Society assembled in Springfield on October 5-6, 1945, for the first annual meeting of the Society to be held in that city since 1936. The wartime ban on conventions had only recently been lifted, but the program committee, headed by Joe Patterson Smith, Professor of History at Illinois College, succeeded in booking an unusual group of speakers, and the attendance at the meeting was both large and enthusiastic.

On arrival at the Leland Hotel, the convention headquarters, on the morning of October 5, visitors were received and registered on the mezzanine floor of the hotel by Mesdames William E. Baringer, Joe Collamore, Jay Monaghan, Paul Noonan, and Miss Julia McPherson. At 12:30 the opening luncheon was served to 150 people in the Ballroom of the Leland Hotel. The invocation, given by the Rev. W. W. Towle, pastor of the First Congregational Church of Springfield, was concluded with the reading of the final paragraphs of Lincoln's Second Inaugural Address as James N. Adams of Taylorville played "America" on the piano. As soon as the meal was served, Joe Patterson Smith introduced John W. Kapp, mayor of Springfield, who graciously welcomed the assembled historians to the city. The next speaker was Mrs. James Longstreet, Atlanta, Georgia, the sole surviving widow of a Civil War General. She talked on "General Lee's War Horse"—her illustrious husband. At the conclusion of her remarks a host of descendants of Civil War veterans crowded around the table for autographs. Some were disappointed, however, as cars were waiting to take the General's widow and party to Oak Ridge Cemetery to lay a wreath on Lincoln's Tomb.

At 3:00 o'clock that afternoon an illustrated lecture on "Illinois Architecture" was delivered in the Centennial Building by Rexford Newcomb, Dean of the College of Fine and Applied Arts at the University of Illinois. Frank Darneille was in charge of the ushering for this session.

From 4:00 to 5:00 on Friday afternoon members of the Society were entertained at tea at the Governor's Mansion. Miss Emma Scheffler, chairman of the reception committee, was assisted in receiving and serving by

Mrs. James Longstreet, with Delegation from the Annual Meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society, at Lincoln's Tomb in Oak Ridge Cemetery, Springfield.

Left to Right: Henry F. Scarborough, Ernest E. East, Wayne C. Townley, Mrs. Longstreet, John W. Kapp, Herbert W. Fay.

Mesdames Roger Chapin, Albert E. Converse, Thorne Deuel, Icko Iben, Robert Irwin, William A. Sausaman, and Miss Harriet Skogh, all of Springfield. Mrs. Ernest E. East, of Peoria, and Mrs. Jewell Stevens, of Chicago, presided at the urns. Piano music was furnished by Mrs. Philip Vance of Springfield.

At 6:45 the Annual Dinner of the Society was served in the Ballroom of the Abraham Lincoln Hotel to 200 guests. Ernest E. East of Peoria, President of the Illinois State Historical Society, presided. The Rev. Edward W. Ziegler, minister of the Westminster Presbyterian Church in Springfield, gave the invocation. A popular program of early American ballads was presented by R. E. Patton, tenor, A. J. Cope, banjoist, and Mrs. R. E. Patton, pianist—all of Springfield. The address of the evening was delivered by Edward Everett Dale, Research Professor in the Department of History at the University of Oklahoma. His subject was "From Log Cabin to Sod House."

At 8:30 the next morning, October 6, the Directors of the Society held an informal breakfast meeting in the Leland Hotel Coffee Shop. At 9:30 a procession of cars, headed by state police, lined up in front of the hotel to take members of the Society to New Salem State Park, twenty-two miles distant. After a tour of this reconstructed village of Lincoln's time, an outdoor meeting was held near the Park Museum. John H. Hauberg, of Rock Island, presided at this final session, with Dr. Edward P. Alexander, Director of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, speaking on "Getting the Most Out of Local History." At the close of his address, luncheon was served at the Wagon Wheel, log-cabin restaurant located at the entrance to the Park. Immediately thereafter the annual business meeting of the Society was held, and this was followed by the Directors' meeting.

The generous assistance of Springfield people was largely responsible for making the meeting a success. In addition to the local people named above, the services of Mrs. S. A. Wetherbee in planning the meals, and of Gilbert Wright in providing transportation to New Salem State Park, should also be mentioned. Finally, without the efficient help of Miss Louise Murphy, secretary of the Convention Bureau of the Springfield Chamber of Commerce, it would have been impossible to plan for such a large meeting on such short notice.

The paper read by Professor Dale at the Annual Dinner of the Society is printed in this *Journal*. The speeches of Dean Newcomb and Dr. Alexander will be published in later issues.

A summary of the business transacted at the Society's meeting held at New Salem State Park on October 6, 1945, follows:

President Ernest E. East called the meeting to order. In lieu of a formal report, Mr. Paul M. Angle, who resigned as Secretary-Treasurer of the Society on July 1, 1945, made a few comments on the work of the Society. Mr. East expressed appreciation of the valuable services rendered by Mr. Angle during his thirteen years as Secretary-Treasurer.

Mr. East reported that upon Mr. Angle's resignation last July he had appointed Miss Mildred Eversole as Acting Secretary of the Society.

A report on the activities of the membership committee was made by Mr. John Valentine, chairman.

On recommendation of the nominating committee, read by Jewell Stevens, chairman, the five Directors whose terms were expiring were re-elected by unanimous vote. The five so named are:

Dwight F. Clark, Evanston
John H. Hauberg, Rock Island
James A. James, Evanston
James G. Randall, Urbana
Hermon Dunlap Smith, Lake Forest

John H. Hauberg read a resolution expressing appreciation for the services of Miss Anne C. Flaherty who recently resigned as secretary in the offices of the Society in Springfield. The members of the Society voted unanimously to have a copy of the resolution incorporated in the minutes, and another copy sent to Miss Flaherty. The meeting then adjourned.

A copy of the above-mentioned resolution follows:

For more than thirty years Anne C. Flaherty has served the Illinois State Historical Library and the Illinois State Historical Society with faithfulness and efficiency. Her performance of her secretarial duties has always been exemplary; her personal experience, acquired by long and intelligent service, has been invaluable. Her devotion to the interests of both Library and Society has never been questioned. Unselfish in the highest degree, considerate of others, always cheerful in spite of recurrent ill health, she has enjoyed the unqualified respect and affection not only of her co-workers, but also, over the years, of hundreds of officers and members of the historical organizations of Illinois.

We of the Illinois State Historical Society resolve that Miss Flaherty's retirement, recently announced, must not pass without formal record being made of our appreciation of her long, faithful, and efficient service. She has made a contribution for which there can be no adequate compensation. This resolution stands only as our grateful acknowledgment of our debt.

The Directors of the Illinois State Historical Society held their meeting at the close of the general meeting of the Society at New Salem State Park on October 6, 1945. President Ernest E. East presided. Mr. Stevens,

Dr. Edward P. Alexander Addressing Members of the Illinois State Historical Society at an Outdoor Meeting at New Salem State Park on October 6, 1945.

chairman of the nominating committee, recommended the election of the following persons:

President - - - - -	James G. Randall, Urbana
Senior Vice-President -	Theodore C. Pease, Urbana
Vice-Presidents - - -	Dwight F. Clark, Evanston
	F. S. Fowler,[1] Princeton
	Oscar C. Hayward, Winnetka
	Willard R. Matheny, Chicago
	Vernon L. Nickell, Springfield
	George W. Smith,[2] Carbondale
Acting Secretary-Treasurer	Jay Monaghan, Springfield

The report of the committee was adopted and the above-named persons were declared elected.

The President read a summary of the audit of the Society's books as made by Lucy Williams. The report showed receipts of $2,666.50 and disbursements of $2,047.71 for the period from Sept. 1, 1944, to June 26, 1945. The Directors voted that the President should appoint a committee of two Directors to invest up to $2,000 of the Society's funds, restricting such investments to U. S. government bonds, or U. S. government guaranteed securities.

A communication from the Greater Egypt Association, inviting the Society to hold a meeting in southern Illinois, was read. The President was instructed to appoint a committee to consider this invitation.

A communication from Miss Hazel Phillips, President of the Illinois Council for the Social Studies, urging the Society to co-operate with the Council in encouraging the teaching of Illinois history, was referred to the President for action.

Plans for the observance of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Society in 1949 were discussed, and a communication from Oscar C. Hayward, chairman of the Anniversary Committee, in regard to the proposed celebration, was read.

The meeting then adjourned.

NOTE—Since the above-mentioned meetings were held, the invitation of the Greater Egypt Association has been accepted, and plans are now being made for the Illinois State Historical Society to resume its prewar plan of holding an annual spring tour. A two-day trip, visiting places of interest in lower Egypt, is now scheduled for May 10 and 11, 1946. Harrisburg will be the headquarters for this tour.

[1] Deceased, Nov. 16, 1945.
[2] Deceased, Nov. 20, 1945.

A book of recent history, *Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City*,[3] by St. Clair Drake and Horace R. Cayton, describes the history of the so-called Black Belt in Chicago from the time of the great migration of plantation workers during the labor shortages in the first World War. As a social study this book ranks with the Lynds' *Middletown, A Study in Contemporary American Culture*. The authors lay out their facts with candor, clarity, and wit. The cultural attainments of some Negroes in one generation will be a surprise to many people. The living conditions of the majority of those in Chicago are not pleasing, yet the whole picture is better than the Upton Sinclair description of the slums of forty years ago in his *Jungle*. Students of Illinois history will see further cause for optimism when they compare the Chicago Negro riot of 1919, ably described in this book, with the Know Nothing and Anti-Mormon disturbances of the 1840's and 1850's. Richard Wright's introduction to *Black Metropolis* is emotional rather than historical. He warns American industrialists that unhappy and suppressed Negroes are a dangerous minority "if you and your kind do not leave them to a life compatible with the dignity of their aspirations."

Perhaps a democracy might be defined as a state governed by a majority of discontented minorities. A little book by Arthur Moore, *The Farmer and the Rest of Us*,[4] describes another minority whose life is not "compatible with the dignity of their aspirations." Like *Black Metropolis*, every Illinoisan will want to read this little volume in order to understand the recent history of his state. Author Moore is a trained newspaperman. He paints his observations in colors that stick in the mind—the plight of the big operator as well as the tenant, the enmity of the dirt farmer towards organized labor. Significantly, he quotes an old farmer, Jake, as saying: "I've been observing the stern end of hogs for thirty-five years and I tell you their tails twist clockwise to the right." Arthur Moore has observed that some Illinois farmers, unlike their pigs' tails, twist to the left.

"Always when simple people give names, there is now and then a touch of poetry," says George R. Stewart. Many touches of poetry will be found in his delightful and scholarly volume, *Names on the Land*.[5] The book tells the origin of place names throughout all America. The history

[3] Harcourt, Brace and Co. $5.00.
[4] Little, Brown and Co. $2.50.
[5] Random House. $3.00.

of geographic names is, of course, a history of the people who gave the names. Stewart's book is therefore a history of America from Columbus to MacArthur, yet strangely enough the author tells us that "Columbus" and "Columbia" as names were not popular until American independence induced English colonists to look away from the Cabots to a non-English discoverer, even if his explorations were in the distant tropics. Mr. Stewart is a skilled writer. The most familiar names turn to magic under his delicate touch. Perhaps this is because he is interested in the reason behind the names. It is not enough for him to know that Green Bay was named for the foliage, which of course grew just as green around other bays as well. To the first *voyageurs*, however, artist Stewart tells us, the green of Green Bay differed from other bays. The Frenchmen left Mackinac with the first spring thaw. By the time they reached Green Bay the leaves had burgeoned. Thus to them Green Bay designated a season as well as a color. Illinoisans will be particularly interested to know that the 1673 expedition of Marquette and Jolliet beat all records for leaving enduring names on the land.

The second volume of the *Album of American History*[6] presents a pictorial history of the period from 1783 to 1853—great years in the Midlands. Readers who want to get the atmosphere of this era by the easy way will enjoy this book. They will see the Mississippi Valley as its contemporaries saw it. They will see the kind of clothes men and women wore and learn that Jackson's army of "frontier individualists" dressed in uniforms that strangely resembled those worn by the defenders of Napoleon's highly regimented state. The book contains many pictures of pioneers, Indians, covered wagons, human sketches of river life, the War of 1812. A reproduction of the George Flower home in Edwards County, Illinois, will be familiar to members of the Illinois State Historical Society.

Lake Erie,[7] by Harlan Hatcher—the fifth book in the *American Lakes Series*—is being acclaimed by reviewers as a superb climax to the notable regional books edited by Milo M. Quaife. Lake Erie is the smallest of the Great Lakes; yet, with Detroit on one end and Buffalo on the other, its shores are the most thickly populated of them all. The lake was not on the main route of travel to the West in the early days. Harlan Hatcher

[6] Charles Scribner's Sons. $7.50.
[7] Bobbs-Merrill. $3.50.

describes its slowly growing importance until the War of 1812 made it a major battle front. Hull at Detroit, Perry on the lake, and Harrison marching north with his recruits—all give the author an opportunity for his own vivid expression. Mr. Hatcher describes the opening of the Erie Canal after the war, and the building of the south shore cities—Toledo, Sandusky, Cleveland, and Erie. The story of the industrial development of the Midwest is repeated in these pages but the author never forgets the human drama enacted by each generation. The smoke from the steel mills in the industrial age does not obliterate the pictures of Negroes in an earlier period fleeing by "submarine ferries" to free-soil Canada. Scholarly and well balanced, *Lake Erie* is a rare example of a book which makes good reading and is also a useful reference work. A chapter on Johnson's Island, where a prison camp for Confederate officers was located, will interest Civil War students.

Recently one of our large universities gave an advanced degree to a person who once said: "I could have saved a man's life but he was so obscure that I considered his life of no value." In 1909 Northwestern University conferred a degree on a confirmed invalid, Edward W. Spencer, whose outstanding contribution was to save the lives of seventeen "obscure" people from the wrecked steamship *Lady Elgin* forty-nine years earlier.

The story of Edward W. Spencer, the founding of Evanston's First Methodist Church by the ministers who also founded Northwestern University, Lincoln's visit to Evanston, and the town's participation in the Civil War are all told by James A. James, a Director of the Illinois State Historical Society, in a pamphlet, *From Log Schoolhouse to Church Tower.* The booklet is a history of the church and the magnificent church building which grew along with the University. A detailed account of the spiritual contributions of early ministers is included. The activities of members, the church functions, and various plans which raised sufficient money to build the present edifice are all told here. The booklet is concluded with a sermon by Ernest Fremont Tittle, present pastor of the church.

In 1942, Rufus Rockwell Wilson published *Lincoln Among His Friends.* Now he has compiled a companion volume, *Intimate Memories of Lincoln.*[8] Consisting of many well-selected items, this new Lincoln book is full of

[8] The Primavera Press, Inc., Elmira, N. Y. $4.00.

eyewitness accounts, many of them bedrock sources for Lincoln students. The professional historian and the lay reader will both enjoy it. Some of the accounts are published for the first time. All of them make good reading.

On the evening of November 16, 1866, William H. Herndon delivered a lecture which has caused as much dispute among Lincoln students as the famous Bixby letter. Published as a broadside, and later by Daniel Newhall as a booklet, the kernel of the whole question of Lincoln's tender relationship to Ann Rutledge is believed by many to lie in the paper shell of this discourse. Hal Trovillion has recently reprinted the lecture, *Lincoln, Ann Rutledge and the Pioneers of New Salem*,[9] with the skill to be expected under his "Sign of the Silver Horse." A comprehensive introduction by Harry R. Burke traces the argument caused by this lecture from the time of its delivery to the present day, and adds a few straight shots. A collectors' edition of 122 numbered copies has also been published.

Another life of Lincoln appears in Louis Obed Renne's *Lincoln and the Land of the Sangamon*.[10] The familiar story is interlarded with random recollections of the descendants of old-timers who lived in the Lincoln country. Some of the illustrations photographed by the author cannot be found elsewhere.

For some strange reason the Hutchinson family of singers have been omitted from the *Dictionary of American Biography*. Yet without doubt their songs helped influence the United States into civil war as much as did either Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* or John Greenleaf Whittier's poems on emancipation. Immensely popular at prayer meetings, the Hutchinsons aroused antislavery impulses in people who would not read "sinful" novels or waste time with the idleness required to read verse. Jesse Hutchinson, head of the famous family, had sixteen children. Thirteen survived to make up the Hutchinson choir—all boys but Abby, the contralto. R. Gerald McMurtry tells their story in a well-written and well-illustrated article, *Lincoln and the Hutchinson Family Singers*,[11] reprinted from the December, 1944, *Lincoln Herald*.

[9] Trovillion Private Press, Herrin, Ill. Collectors' Ed., $8.00; Trade Ed., $3.50.
[10] Chapman & Grimes, Boston, Mass. $2.50.
[11] Lincoln Memorial University, Harrogate, Tenn. $1.00.

From the same publication's February, 1945, issue, Mr. McMurtry has had another article reprinted, *Poet and President; Riley's Estimate of Lincoln*.[12] James Whitcomb Riley did not know Abraham Lincoln personally, but his father, Reuben A. Riley, claimed part of the credit for carrying his state of Indiana for Lincoln in 1860. His son was, therefore, reared in the tradition. Mr. McMurtry lists two poems—*Lincoln—the Boy* and *Lincoln*—by Riley. His short article also contains some interesting correspondence between Riley, Jesse W. Weik, and Joel Chandler Harris. The former had just completed *Herndon's Lincoln* and the latter his *The Kidnapping of President Lincoln and Other War Detective Stories*.

Lincoln specialists and bibliophiles will be interested in another reprint from the *Lincoln Herald*, F. Lauriston Bullard's *What Andrew Boyd and Charles Henry Hart Did for Abraham Lincoln*.[13] The author has unearthed hitherto unpublished material about the two Lincoln bibliographers, Andrew Boyd, the catalog publisher, and Charles Henry Hart, the art connoisseur. Dr. Bullard details the collaboration between Boyd and Hart in their basic, albeit double-jointed, bibliography. He also straightens out a few popular errors about the ultimate disposal of both the bibliographers' collections.

A Pilgrimage to the Lincoln Country,[14] an address by Arthur C. Hansen, president of the Lincoln Fellowship of Wisconsin, delivered on February 12, 1944, has been printed in an edition of 400 copies with illustrations supplied by the Lincoln Memorial University. Dr. Hansen takes the reader step by step from Hodgenville, Kentucky, to Springfield, Illinois, and repeats the story that never grows old to Lincolnians.

Stanley Pargellis, Librarian of the Newberry Library, Chicago, analyzed Lincoln's political philosophy in a provocative article by that title[15] in the June, 1945, issue of *The Abraham Lincoln Quarterly*. A reprint of this paper makes an attractive brochure of eighteen pages. Mr. Pargellis divides political thinkers into two classes, those who build up in advance a logical plan and then seek to change the existing order to con-

[12] Lincoln Memorial University, Harrogate, Tenn. $1.00.
[13] *Ibid.*
[14] Lincoln Fellowship of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
[15] The author, Newberry Library, Chicago, Ill. $.50.

form to that plan, and secondly, those who believe in taking "the best step they can in view of all the circumstances"—idealists and opportunists, perhaps! The much abused terms "radical" and "reactionary" do not enter into such a category; indeed, Mr. Pargellis puts both Churchill and Stalin in the second group. With quotations, examples of Lincoln's thinking, and logical inferences, he places the Emancipator where he too no doubt belongs.

Lincoln collectors must not overlook a little pamphlet entitled *Stubborn Mr. Lincoln*, by Dr. William G. Hyde, reprinted from the *American Digest and Insurance Monitor* for April 21, 1945. The author has written a plea for world co-operation in the present crisis. The gist of his sketch is Lincoln's stubborn remark: "On that point hold firm as with a chain of steel." The work fulfills all collectors' accepted definitions of Lincolniana.

The interesting experiment in popularizing history which was inaugurated by Luke Scheer and Milo M. Quaife in their pictorial history of Michigan, illustrated by George Scarbo, was described in the last issue of this *Journal*. A new phase of this unusual undertaking has now appeared. The Michigan Press Association recently purchased the rights to the cartoon history from the original sponsors, the Great Lakes Greyhound Lines, and it is now available in "comic strip" form to member newspapers. The booklet has been re-edited to condense the pictorial presentation into fifty-two installments—to appear weekly for one year. Dr. Quaife is reported to be editing other similar histories for neighboring states.

An unusual curiosity, a Lincoln totem pole, has recently been acquired by the Illinois State Museum and is now on exhibit in the entrance lobby of the Centennial Building in Springfield. Students of Abraham Lincoln have long known the depth to which the Emancipator's influence has penetrated in European society. Many will be surprised, however, to learn that he has also been revered in Alaska by certain Indian villages. Slavery existed among the Indians on the northwest coast at the time of Alaska's purchase from Russia. Members of the Eagle Clan were fast subjecting the Raven people to chattel slavery. The percentage of free to bondmen in Alaska was approximately the same as in the Confederate

states. Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation and the Thirteenth Amendment freed these people as well as the slaves in the South. To express their appreciation, the Raven people erected a large totem with a likeness of Abraham Lincoln on top.

The first pole was probably erected in 1868—the year after the Alaska purchase. This one may be found in the Territorial Museum in Juneau, Alaska. The pole now on exhibit in Springfield does not appear to be so old, although it is an excellent piece of unusually fine carving. It was acquired through the energy and interest of W. C. Hurst, President of the Chicago & Illinois Midland Railroad and a member of the Illinois State Historical Society. The Mid-Day Luncheon Club of Springfield purchased the pole for presentation to the State Museum. Last May, Jay Monaghan went to Alaska to make the arrangements for its shipment to Springfield. The pole was unveiled in October. It is of colossal size. On the rocky isle off Dall Island in the Prince of Wales chain where Mr. Monaghan found it, the pole stood fifty feet high. A few more of these commemorative totem poles may still be found on some of the isolated islands of Alaska but unfortunately the art of carving them has vanished.

The Bureau County Historical Society launched its recent fund raising campaign with a gala open house in its rooms in the courthouse in Princeton on October 20. Each of the eight main departments into which the exhibits of the Society are divided was presided over by several hosts or hostesses. In addition to these permanent displays, a number of other historical exhibits were arranged especially for this occasion. Color slides and movie films taken by members of the Bureau County Camera Club were also a feature of the open house. Mrs. E. M. Conway was chairman of the reception committee, Mrs. John Skinner headed the refreshment committee, and Mrs. R. D. Ferris was in charge of the museum committee.

A campaign for funds for the museum was begun during the week following the open house. The school children of the county have made generous contributions for this purpose. A tag-day sponsored by the Society on October 27 also netted good returns. The officers and members desire to secure enough funds to enable the organization not only to continue its ordinary work, but also to allow it to undertake additional activities. Its proposed projects include the indexing of county newspapers, promotion of historical research, and the development of a genealogical library.

The Chicago Historical Society has featured a succession of special exhibits in recent months. In September, silverware and other table equipment used by Adolf Hitler at Berchtesgaden were displayed. These articles were lent by Cpl. Robert T. Isham of Lake Forest, who found them in an underground room of the Bavarian mountain hideaway.

On September 17, the Society displayed a special exhibit to mark the date of the one hundred and fifty-eighth anniversary of the signing of the United States Constitution. On October 9, 10 and 11, the Chicago Color Camera Club sponsored a showing of color slides representing the work of amateur photographers from all over the world. Four hundred and seventy-five slides were selected for this exhibit from some four thousand entries. Another event on the October calendar of the Chicago Historical Society was the tea given in honor of Paul M. Angle, new director of the organization, on October 21. The guests enjoyed a display of gowns worn by Chicago women when they were presented at the Court of St. James.

The annual Early Settlers' Meeting sponsored by the West Side Historical Society (Chicago) was held at the Henry E. Legler regional branch of the Chicago Public Library on October 8. The date marked the twenty-fifth anniversary of both the Society and the Library. The chief feature of the program was a speech by Julian T. Fitzgerald, former president of the West Town Chamber of Commerce, on the growth of the community. The second part of the evening's program consisted of the unveiling of a memorial plaque recording the names of the 124 men from the West Garfield community who were killed in World War II. Carl B. Roden, Librarian of the Chicago Public Library, and Frank A. Alden, founder of the Garfield Park Business Men's Association, made speeches preceding the unveiling.

A report on the annual meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society held in Springfield on October 5-6 was made by E. L. Dukes to the members of the Edwards County Historical Society on October 8. Mr. Dukes is the custodian of the museum and library of the Edwards County organization. At the election of officers, held at the close of this meeting, the following persons were named to office: Mrs. W. A. Wheeler, president; Mrs. K. C. Hogue, vice-president; Mrs. Edna Gubbins, secretary; and Mrs. Sherman Killough, treasurer.

Mrs. Louise Neyhart of Freeport was the guest speaker at the October meeting of the Lee County Historical Society. She discussed the Lincoln-Douglas debate held at Freeport on August 27, 1858. The speaker was introduced by Mrs. Margaret Scriven, program chairman, and the business session was conducted by Miss Molly Duffy, president of the Society. At the close of the program, refreshments were served from a tea table presided over by Mrs. Forrest Trautwein and Mrs. Theodore Goe.

At the November meeting of the Society, Paul M. Angle, Director of the Chicago Historical Society, spoke on "History—and Lee County."

Directors of the McLean County Historical Society recently adopted a resolution of respect in honor of the late Jacob L. Hasbrouck, who died on July 10. Mr. Hasbrouck had been a member of the Society for forty-six years and was a lifetime honorary president.

At the quarterly meeting of the Macon County Historical Society held on September 12, Miss Minnie Dill described the early days of the Decatur Public Library. Miss Dill recently retired from her position as librarian with that organization.

"Pioneer Day" at the site of old Fort Russell was observed by members of the Madison County Historical Society on October 27. A basket dinner was served at noon, followed by a series of five-minute talks on various subjects relating to the history of the fort and the War of 1812. The program was planned by the Edwardsville Chapter of the Society.

At the business meeting held on this occasion, the following persons were elected to office: Mrs. Harry L. Meyer, Alton, president; Judge Henry B. Eaton, Wood River, vice-president; Miss Louise Travous, Edwardsville, secretary; and E. W. Ellis, St. Jacob, treasurer. Mrs. Meyer, Judge Easton, and Norman G. Flagg were elected directors. The headquarters of the Society, located in the courthouse in Edwardsville, is now open on Saturday mornings. This plan has been adopted to allow school children of the county to study the Society's displays.

An article on the Bohlander family was read at the September meeting of the Maywood Historical Society by Peter Bohlander. The paper will be placed in the Society's files as part of its records on early Maywood.

The Rev. Herm Fritschel of Milwaukee was the speaker at the September meeting of the Morgan County Historical Society. In observance of the seventieth anniversary of the Passavant Hospital in Jacksonville, he discussed the history of the hospital and the Passavant movement in general. At the November meeting of the Society, C. C. Burford of Urbana spoke on "The Picturesque Story of the Illinois River." Both meetings were held at the Dunlap Hotel in Jacksonville.

"The Origin of Oak Park Street Names" was the subject of the fall meeting of the Oak Park Historical Society. Several members of the Society participated in the discussion which was planned by Mrs. George W. White. Also included on the program was a reminiscent account of the Chicago fire by Dennis Ryan. The Philander Barclay collection of photographs of early Oak Park was on display at this meeting.

Five Peoria "quiz kids"—J. H. Harrison, Eugene Brown, George Alfs, J. S. Frye, and Miss Sidney Baldwin—answered questions on Peoria history at the October meeting of the Peoria Historical Society. Phil Becker, Jr., presided over the session, with L. O. Schriver acting as quizmaster, and Ernest E. East serving as referee. The program was preceded by a dinner and a short musical program.

One of the last events in connection with Peoria's centennial celebration, observed during 1945, was the history essay contest for school children. Winners in each grade received a $25 war bond and those in second place received $10 in war savings stamps. Each participant was given a certificate bearing a reproduction in color of the official flag of the city of Peoria. An essay contest was also held for adults with war bonds of $100 and $50 denomination given for first and second prizes, respectively.

Dr. Edward E. Dale, Research Professor of History at the University of Oklahoma, was the speaker at the annual fall dinner meeting of the Rock Island County Historical Society on October 8. "The Speech of the Frontier" was the subject of Dr. Dale's lecture.

The semi-annual meeting of the Southern Illinois Historical Society was held at the DuQuoin Country Club on October 19, with seventy mem-

bers in attendance. Dr. H. K. Croessman of DuQuoin spoke on "Chief DuQuoin," and Mrs. L. A. Cranston, of the same city, discussed "Tri-County Highlights." J. Ward Barnes of Raleigh presided over the business meeting which followed the program. J. Lester Buford of Mt. Vernon was made a member of the board of directors in place of Dr. Richard Beyer, who recently moved to Pennsylvania.

At the annual meeting of the Stark County Historical Society held in Toulon last September, the following persons were elected to office: H. W. Walker, president; W. C. Auble, vice-president; Miss Anna Lowman, secretary; and Miss Rena Baker, treasurer. Directors re-elected include: Miss Lowman, Mr. Auble, and Mrs. Margaret Shinn. Holdover directors are James M. Armstrong, H. W. Walker, Carl L. Lehman, Earl O. Turner, Dr. W. F. Jones, and Mrs. Louise Younger.

A Scandinavian festival was sponsored by the Swedish Historical Society of Rockford and the Mendelssohn Club on November 2. More than a thousand singers and musicians from various Scandinavian groups of the community participated in the colorful program.

A three-day celebration climaxed by a giant parade was held in Tinley Park on October 5, 6, and 7 to commemorate the town's one hundredth anniversary. The old Country Store, displaying articles dating back a hundred years, was one of the chief attractions. A human album—an outdoor show with Mrs. William Clemens as the reader and various local citizens appearing in costume as the pages of the album were opened by Art Linsted—was another highlight of the week-end. In the parade at the close of the celebration were included an old oxcart, original fire-fighting apparatus, the six-horse hitch with its famous Clydesdales from Wilson & Company of Chicago, and various other exhibits and floats. The proceeds of the entire celebration will be used to help purchase a plot of ground for a Memorial Park to the veterans of World War II.

A victory celebration with returned servicemen as guests was held at the home of the Stephenson County Historical Society in Freeport on August 15. After viewing an exhibit of souvenirs from World War II in the Society's museum, the guests gathered on the lawn for a program of

old-time patriotic songs led by the "Gay Nineties Singers." Refreshments were served from the summerhouse. Mrs. Chester A. Hoefer and Mrs. Karl F. Snyder had general charge of the evening's entertainment, with the following persons serving as chairmen of the various committees: Mrs. W. W. Cramer, refreshments; Mrs. Loyal L. Munn, flowers; Mrs. Carl F. Ogden, invitations; Mr. and Mrs. J. Roy Nesbit, lights; and J. Howard Swanzey, traffic.

The first annual art exhibit was opened in the museum of the Stephenson County Historical Society in November. Artists who reside in Stephenson County were invited to submit not more than three entries for the exhibit. On November 15 a "varnishing day" for artists was held, with tea served in the late afternoon. The next day members of the Stephenson County Historical Society were guests at a preview of the exhibit. On the three following week-ends, the general public was admitted on payment of a small admission fee. Mrs. Lenore Rideout Schneider and Mrs. Marshall F. Goodheart were co-chairmen of the event. They were assisted by numerous special committees. Prof. Alfred Sessler, member of the faculty at the University of Wisconsin, served as judge.

A style show displaying the beautiful old costumes in the collection of the Winnetka Historical Society was given by the Society on October 24. As each model appeared, dressed in one of these exquisite taffetas or brocades, appropriate music was played and a bit of the history of her gown and the name of its original owner were given. A social hour was held at the close of the program.

George W. Smith, Vice President of the Illinois State Historical Society, died at his Carbondale home on November 20, 1945. Born in Greene County, Illinois, ninety years ago, he was a lifelong resident of the state and a widely known student of its history. He attended Blackburn College, then taught in the public schools for thirteen years. He became a member of the faculty of Southern Illinois Normal University in 1890 and continued there until he retired as professor emeritus of history in 1935. He was the author of numerous volumes on Illinois history, the last one published in 1940 under the title, *When Lincoln Came to Egypt*. Several of his articles have been printed in this *Journal*.

Professor Smith was buried at White Hall on November 22. He is survived by four children, three grandchildren, and two greatgrand-

children. He was a member of the Illinois State Historical Society for forty-one years and served as Vice President or Director during most of that period.

F. S. Fowler, another Vice President of the Illinois State Historical Society, died at his home in Princeton on November 16, 1945. Mr. Fowler was born in Buda on November 23, 1866. He attended the University of Illinois and Northwestern University. For several years he taught school, then engaged in farming until he purchased the Princeton city mills in 1900. He was actively interested in the Bureau County Historical Society and helped equip and maintain its museum in the courthouse in Princeton.

During the last few years his health failed slowly but he was not seriously ill until a few weeks prior to his death. He is survived by his widow, the former Augusta Pratt, whom he married in 1894.

Miss Caroline M. McIlvaine, Honorary Member of the Illinois State Historical Society, died in Chicago on November 26, 1945. Miss McIlvaine's grandfather moved to Chicago in 1857. Her father saw both his business and his home consumed in the Chicago fire. Steeped in the city's history, Miss McIlvaine became Librarian of the Chicago Historical Society in 1901. Through popular lectures and visible exhibits, she worked constantly to inform Chicago's school children about their city's past. Though she retired from active service in 1926, she retained her interest in the Society, the Chicago Woman's Club, and the Chicago Academy of Sciences until her death.

CONTRIBUTORS

Edward Everett Dale is Research Professor of History and Director of the Frank Phillips Collection at the University of Oklahoma at Norman. He is widely known as the author of numerous books on Western Indians and the cow country. . . . Alfred W. Newcombe is Professor of History at Knox College in Galesburg. His paper on Alson J. Streeter is an indirect result of his interest in nineteenth century agrarian movements in the Middle West. . . . Robert R. Hubach is a member of the faculty in the Department of English at Whitworth College, Spokane, Washington. An article similar to the one published here—his account of prominent authors' visits to St. Louis—appeared in the *Missouri Historical Review* for July, 1944.

INDEX, 1945

A. D. Patchin (steamboat).....291
Abbott, Fidelia.....267
Abraham Lincoln, An Illinois Central Lawyer (pamphlet).....256
Abraham Lincoln Association.....364
Accaux, Michel..... 41
Ackerknecht, Erwin H.....257
Adams, D. C..... 23
Adams, James N.....492
Adams, John Quincy.....277
Addams, Jane.....374
Ade, George.....81, 166, 466–67
Adelphi Literary Society (Knox College).....420
Affleck, Benjamin F..... 73
Ainsworth and Ater.....174
"Air Line" (Southern Railroad).....298
Alaska.....501–02
Albion, Ill.....239–41
  See also Albion Normal School, Edwards County Normal College, *and* Southern Collegiate Institute
Albion Coil Company.....295
Albion Journal (newspaper).....303, 304, 313, 314
Albion Normal School.....295–97
Albion Normal University, *see* Edwards County Normal College
Albion Shale Brick Co.....312
Album of American History (book)....497
Alcott, Bronson.....459
Alden, Frank A.....503
Aledo, Ill.....425, 429
Alexander, Edward P.....493
Alexander, John..... 93
Alexander, John T.
  public opinion of.....176
  takes over "Broadlands".....165
  tenancy under.....167
  mentioned.....178, 203
Alfs, George.....505
Alien landlords
  legislation against.....199–203
Allan, Mrs. Margaret Alexander.....372
Allerton, Robert.....175
Allerton, Samuel
  estate acquired.....173–76
  mentioned.....165, 203, 204
Allin, W. H..... 15
Allison, Lelia.....314
Alton, Ill.....358–60
Alton and East St. Louis Railroad. 24–25
Alton and St. Louis Railroad Co. 21, 25, 34
Alton and Sangamon Railroad Co.....10, 11, 36
Altona (steamboat)..... 23
Ambrose, D. Leib
  quoted.....360–61
America To-day (book).....461
American Battle Monuments Commission.....259
American Bottom.....351, 352
American Lakes Series (books)...366, 497
American Notes (book).....451, 452
American Party.....414
American Society of Civil Engineers. 29
American Temperance House (Chicago).....454
Ampère, André-Marie 208
Ampère, Jean-Jacques
  ancestors.....207–08
  biographical sketch.....208–09
  impressions of America.....209–26
Ampère, Jean-Jacques (the elder)
  death.....207–08
Amsbary, F. B.....340
Anabaptists.....218
"Analysis of Lincoln Funeral Sermons, An".....365
Anderson, Mrs. Eliza.....115
Anderson, Russell.....265
Andrews, William M.....250
Angle, Paul M.
  articles by.....99–104, 108–09, 238–41, 277–94
  biographical sketch.....363–64
  director, Chi. Hist. Soc.....372, 375, 503, 504
  makes speeches.....132, 133, 268

resigns state position.....269, 494
mentioned.....58n.
Antelope and Deer of North America, The (book).....475
Anti-Monopoly Party.....427, 433–34
Antiquarian and Historical Society of Illinois.....447
Apple Creek.....53, 54, 56, 57
Applegate, Alice.....370
Arago, Dominique François Jean.....208
Archaeological Explorations in Jo Daviess County, Illinois (book)...260
Archer, William.....461
Arkansas.....385
Arkansas River.....386
Armstrong, James M.....506
Arnold, Matthew.....464–65
Asbury, Henry
quoted.....124–25
Asher, Emma.....371
Athenaeum (Marseilles, France).....208
Atkinson, Cephas.....166
Atlanta and Lawndale Railroad Co.32, 33
Atlas, Ill.....110, 114, 115
Atwood, M. G.....63
Auble, W. C.....506
Augustana Historical Society Publications.....260
Aurora Historical Museum.....131
Aurora Historical Society.....369–70
Au Sable River.....450
Ayers, Augustus E.....165
Ayers, Mrs. T. R.....318

B. M. Runyan (steamer).....23
Bacon, Lydia B.....130
Bailhache & Baker (Springfield, Ill.).365
Baily, G. S.....64
Baker, Clara.....372
Baker, D. J.....58, 63
Baker, David.....250
Baker, James Chamberlain
early life.....330
minister of Trinity Church 331–34, 340
proposes student foundation..332, 334
Wesley Foundation activities.....335–38, 340, 342, 344
Baker, Rena.....506
Baldwin, ———(steamship captain)..284
Baldwin, Leslie W.....269
Baldwin, Miss Sidney.....133, 505
Ballantine, ———.....294
Ballycohey estate.....177, 180
Baltimore (steamboat).....23
Baltzer, Harold K.....374
Bancroft, George.....99
Banks, Irving S.....250
Bannister, ———.....288, 290
Baptist Church
beliefs.....218–20, 222
educational institutions fostered by.....60, 95
Barber, James W.....297, 298, 306, 307
Barber, Laura.....301, 310
Barclay, Philander.....505
Baringer, William E.....364
Baringer, Mrs. William E.....492
Barley, A. H.....106
Barley, C.....106
Barnes, Clifford W.....90
Barnes, J. Ward.....506
Barnes, John P.....83
Barnes, Mrs. Nell Walsh.....371
Barnes, William.....23
Barnes, William M.....250
Barnett, G. R.....268, 373
Barrett, Edward J.....77, 93
Barrett, George F.....77, 93
Barry, Laurence M.....131
Bartholemew, ———.....471
Barton, Verda.....314
Bassett, Arch.....309
Bassett, Mrs. Jane W.....58n.
Bates, Edward.....282, 286, 287
Bates County, Mo.....183
Bath, Gomer.....134
Baum, Alice.....265
Beardstown, Ill.....78, 79
Beauvais family.....351
Bebb, William.....286
Becker, Carl.....263
Becker, Conrad F.....77, 93
Becker, Philip, Jr.....373, 505
Beebe, Mrs. C. K.....266
Bell, Andrew J.....442
Bell, John.....250
Bell, John J.....250
Bellas, James S.....23
Belleville, Ill.....452
Belting, Natalia M.....261

Belvidere, Ill. 453, 456
Bennett, John W. 260
Benson, Arnold P. 77
Benton, Jacob D. 307
Benton, Thomas Hart 281, 282
Benton County, Ind. 146, 166
Berkeley, George 212
Berry, John 183, 184
Bessler, E. C. 373
Beyer, Richard L. 135, 364, 506
Bibliography of Chicago Imprints, 1835–1850, A 127
Biddle, Francis 78
Bidemon, Mynheer 481
Bienville, Jean-Baptiste Lemoyne de. 47, 50
Bince, George Washington 310
Biot, Jean Baptiste 208
Bird's Point, Mo. 242, 243
Birkbeck, Morris
  author of *Letters* 447
  at English Settlement 238–41
  opposes slavery 304
Bishop, Addie L. 298
Bishop, Mrs. Isabella L. 459
Bishop Hill, Ill. 369
Bixby, Mrs. Lydia A. 448
Black, Mrs. Clara Owings 133
Black, Jean Phyllis 130
Black, John C. 438–40
Black Hawk War 449
Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City (book) ... 496
Blackstone, Timothy Black
  biographical sketch 19–20
  characterized 32
  mentioned 29, 30
Blaha, Joseph C. 76
Blair, Joseph C. 321, 322
Blaisdell, Elijah W. 439
Bland Bill 429
Blane, William N.
  quoted 361–62
  mentioned 447
Blanford, William 131
Bliss, Adolph 416, 417
Bliss, Mrs. Adolph 416
Bliss, Stephen 228
Bloomington, Ill.
  Alcott visits 459
  Alton R.R. shops in 15–16, 31
  booklet on 260
  seeks railroads 14
Bloom's Landing 53
Bohemians 197
Bohlander, Peter 504
Bohlander family 504
Boisbriant, Pierre Duqué de
  lt. gov. of La. 48, 49, 50
  mentioned 51, 53, 55
Bolender, M. H. 269
Bonnell, Clarence 374
Boone, Daniel 421, 477
Boone, Deborah 421
Booth, John Wilkes 248
Boston and Worcester Railroad 22
Bostwick, John 59, 61
Boswell, Parnham 166
Bourdon, ——— 46, 47, 50, 55, 56
Bower, George 297
Bowman, Elizabeth 312
Bowman, Thomas 320
Bowne, Borden Parker 330
Boycott, Charles Cunningham 208
Boyd, Andrew 500
Boyd, Randolph 95
Boyd's Grove, Ill. 450
Boyer, H. B. 332
Boyer, Lewis L. 75
Boylan, Mrs. Robert J., Sr. 371
Bradley, Alva 261
Bradley, Preston 266
Bragg, ——— (judge) 282
Brand, Gustav A. 82
Brandon, Rodney H. 370
Brant, ——— (colonel) 281
Brayman, Mason 64
Breed, Donald L. 374
Bremen, Ill. 479
Brich, John
  biography 227–37
Bricker, John W. 84
Bridges (railroad) 27–30
Briggs, William A. 301, 303
Brittain, ——— (professor) 311
Broadhurst, Mrs. T. M. 371
"Broadlands" (estate) 158–59, 165
Brons, Ray N. 373
Brown, Eugene 268, 505
Brown, Mrs. F. C. 265

Brown, Henry J. 18
Brown, Jesse R. 133
Brown, Joseph 23
Brown, William 438
Bruner, John A. 23
Brush, Daniel Harmon 126
Bryan, William Jennings 368
Bryant, Grace 370
Bryant, William Cullen. 210, 226, 448–49
Buchanan, R. 285
Buck, Clarence F. 89
Buckingham family 199
Buckley, Homer J. 131
Buerkin, Katherine 373
Buford, J. Lester 506
Buley, R. Carlyle 256
Bulkely, J. W. 63
Bullard, F. Lauriston 500
Bunn, Jacob 162, 184, 199
Bunting, E. Thomas 250
Bureau County, Ill. 152
Bureau County Camera Club 502
Bureau County Historical Society 263–64, 370, 502
Burford, C. C. 505
Burhans, Paul C. 306, 307
Burke, Harry R. 499
Burke, Richard M. 442
Burlington Railroad 193
"Burr Oaks" (estate)
  Sibley owns 162–65
  Sullivant owns 159–62
Burrill, Thomas J. 321, 324, 326, 328, 336
Burroughs, J. C. 64
Burrows, J. 444
Burton, Charles Pierce 370, 372
Bushnell, Ill. 430
Butler, Benjamin F. 434
Butler County, Kan. 182, 194, 204
Buzan, Jesse 349
Buzan, Mrs. Jesse 349–50
Byrnes, James F. 97

Cabet, Etienne 485
Cable, Gladys 265
Cadillac, Antoine de Lamothe
  factor of trading co. 42, 43
  gov. of La. 45, 46
  La Forest succeeds 44
  recalled from La. 47
  mentioned 50, 52
Cadillac, Antoine de Lamothe, Jr. 46
Cahokia, Ill.
  Delisle visits 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57
  Jarrot mansion at 351–53
Cahokia Historical Society of St. Clair County 264, 370–71
Cahokia Indians 39
Cahokia Mounds 352
Cairo, Ill.
  authors visit 451, 452, 454, 460
  flood threatens 78
  Grant in command at 242–44
  Hone describes 278–79
  origin of name 479
Cairo City and Canal Company 451
Calhoun, Mrs. John 473
Calif, Horace R. 174
California 396, 421
Callaway, Mrs. Lynn 373
Camp, _____ 288
Camp Ellis 82, 92, 95
Camp Grant 88, 95
Camp Hovey 357
Campbell, Miss _____ 108
Campbell, Alexander 184
Campbell, Amburg 250
Campbell, Bruce A.
  biographical sketch 315–16
Campbell, G. H. 249
Campbell, George 202
Campbell, Hugh 440
Campbell, J. M. 316
Campbell, Mart 250
Campbell, William J. 87
Canon City [Colo.] *Daily Record* (newspaper) 299
Carbondale, Ill. 304
Carlson, Magnolia 371
Carondelet, Mo. 280
Carrier Mills, Ill. 479, 480
Carter, Joseph C. 328
Carter, William 115
Carthage, Ill. 259, 260, 434
Cartwright, Peter 416
Casey, Stephen 171
Catholics 218
Caton, John Dean
  history of Illinois bar 468–75
Cayton, Horace R. 496

Cayuga, Ill. 184
Centralia, Ill. 432
Chachagouache (Indian) 44
Chamberlain, Orra 339
Chamberlain, Virginia 133
Chamberlin, Horace 473, 474
Champaign, Ill. 319, 339
Champaign County, Ill. 154, 157, 159
Chan, Tom Y. 89
Chapin, Mrs. Roger 493
Chapman, Clarence W. 374
Charles Scribner's Sons 263
Chase, Hiram 166
Chateaubriand, Vicomte François René de 208
Chenoa, Ill. 168, 171
Chester, Ill. 79, 87, 479
Chicago, Ill.
  Anti-Monopoly Party convention 433–34
  authors visit 447, 449–51, 453–67
  churches 217–22
  Democratic conventions 85, 87
  early imprints 127
  electric railroad strike 93, 94
  Farmers' Alliance meeting 443–44
  first law office 468
  Gardiner General Hospital 85–86
  growth 212–14
  Harbor and River Convention 278, 285–87
  Haymarket Riot 444–45
  Indian trading center 42
  manufacturing 224–25
  Republican convention 84
  schools 222–24
  stockyards 71
  weather 89, 96
Chicago and Alton Railroad 155, 168
Chicago and Alton Railroad (of 1861)
  Blackstone president of 19–22, 24, 32
  contracts with:
    Alton and East St. Louis 24–25
    Alton and St. Louis 21, 25
    Kansas City, St. Louis and Chicago 28
    Louisiana and Missouri River 25–26, 28
    North Missouri 26
    St. Louis, Alton and Terre Haute 23, 24
    St. Louis, Jacksonville and Chicago 24, 25
  corporate history 9, 32–37
  equipment 21, 22, 31
  Glasgow bridge 29–30
  local traffic 30–31
  management 22–23, 31
  Mississippi River crossing 23, 26–30
  predecessor roads:
    Alton and Sangamon 10, 11, 36
    Chicago, Alton and St. Louis 18, 19, 23, 36
    Chicago and Mississippi 10, 12, 14, 15–18, 23, 36
    Joliet and Bloomington Extension 16–18
    St. Louis, Alton and Chicago 18, 35
    Springfield and Bloomington 15
Chicago and Alton Railroad Co. (of 1906) 9, 33
Chicago and Alton Railway Co. (of 1900) 32, 33
Chicago, Alton and St. Louis Railroad Co. 18, 19, 23, 36
Chicago and Illinois River Railroad Co. 35
Chicago and Mississippi Railroad Co.
  buys steamship 23
  enters Bloomington 15
  extension 15–18
  incorporated 10
  name changed 36
  right-of-way 12, 14
Chicago and North Western Railway. 30
Chicago and Rock Island Railroad 11, 16, 17
Chicago and the World's Fair (book) .. 466
Chicago, Aurora & Elgin Railroad 93, 94
Chicago Color Camera Club 503
Chicago Daily News 463
Chicago Historical Society
  exhibits in 264, 371, 503
  librarian dies 508
  new director 269, 372, 375, 503, 504
  publishes Flower's book 240
Chicago Inter Ocean 463
Chicago Legal News 475

Chicago Morning News....464
Chicago, North Shore & Milwaukee Railroad....93, 94
Chicago Public Library....461
Chicago, Springfield and St. Louis Railroad Co.... 37
Chicago Theological Seminary....112
Chicago Tribune
quoted....248–50
Chicago, University of....90, 95, 467
Chickasaw Indians.... 57
Childs, Lester....265
Chinese people....337
Chippewa Indians....212
Chladek, Mrs. E. J....371
Christian Benevolent Association of St. Louis....317–18
Christian County, Ill....151, 204
Christie Ranch....181–82
Church, Mrs. Thomas....473
Churches
in Chicago....217–22
pioneer....347–48
See also names of specific churches and denominations
Churchill, Charles
director, Edwards Co. Normal College....297, 299, 304
president, Albion school board....296
trustee, Southern Collegiate Institute....306, 307
Churchill, James....297
Churchill, Samuel....297
Circus day (1851)....120–22
City of Alton (steamboat).... 23
Civil war
incidents..354–56, 357, 360–61, 487–88
influence on frontier....396–97
Streeter's activities....423
Clagette, Thomas W.... 64
Claggett, Miss ——....312
Clancey, Philip T....250
Clark, C. N....339
Clark, Charles M....487–88
Clark, Dwight F....494, 495
Clark, E. J....174
Clark, George Rogers....477
Clark, Herma N....371
Clark, James....174
Clark, William....124
Clarke, James Freeman....452
Clarke, Samuel....373
Clay, Henry....277
Clemens, Samuel L....461–62
Clemens, William....506
Clemensen, Arthur C....264
Cleveland, Grover....414
Cleveland, Ohio....457
Clinton, Ill....432
Coal mines....51, 55, 56, 73
Coe, L. M....269
Coiracoentanon Indians....39, 43
Colbert, George H....233
Coles, Constance....308
Coles, Edward....240
Coles, Frank....297
Coles County, Ill....152
Collamore, Mrs. L. J....492
Collège de France....208
Collins family, the....154, 204
Colorado....201
Commencements, college....248–50
Commercial Club (Urbana)....339
Company of the Colonies.... 47
Company of the West.... 47
Comstock, ——....158
Condell, Miss ——....108
Congregational and Christian Churches in Illinois....109–18
Congregational Association of Illinois....111, 113, 114, 117
Congregational Association of Southern Illinois....305–06, 311
Congregational Church
acquires Edwards County Normal College....297, 303, 304
closes Southern Collegiate Institute.314
sponsors Southern Collegiate Institute....305–07, 312–13
mentioned....220
Congress of Industrial Organizations....77, 78, 81, 97
Conley, Mary....313
Connor, Charles M....249
Conrad, Arthur M....249
Converse, Mrs. Albert E....493
Conway, Mrs. E. M....502
Conway, Joseph....235
Cook, Burton C....471
Cook, John....361

Cook County, Ill. 468
Cooler, Charles S. 249
Coon, Owen L. 266
Cooper, James Fenimore 210
Cope, A. J. 493
Copley Press 365
Copper
  sought on Ill. River 38, 46–57
Corcoran, William W. 152–54
Cornelia (steamboat) 10, 23
Corning, Erastus 286
Corthell, E. L. 27
Corwin, Thomas 286
Council Bluffs, Iowa 416
Countess of Huntingdon's College 227, 236
Courtney, Thomas J. 76
Courts
  early Illinois 468–75
Covered wagons 386, 387, 399–401
Coverly, A. W. 63
Cowdrey, Robert H. 414
Cozzens, Frederick 371
Craig, A. M. 438
Craig, Charles C. 89
Crain, John 101
Cramer, Mrs. W. W. 507
Cranston, Mrs. L. A. 506
Crawford, Peter 265
Creamer, Edwin G. 249
Crew, Mildred H.
  article ed. by 207–26
  mentioned 269
Criswell, Vera 311
Croessman, H. K. 506
Crooked Creek 54
Cross, Hugh W. 77, 93
Crowell, Henry P. 92
Crozat, Antoine 45
Crumbling Idols (book) 467
Crunelle, Leonard 90
Cudahy, Mrs. Joseph M. 372
Cullom, Shelby M. 432
Cumberland County, Ill. 152
Cumberland Presbyterians 347
Currency, frontier 361–62
Curtis, James L. 414
Cushman, Mrs. Jotham 346
"D-day" 82
Dablon, Claude 262
Dale, C. A. 326
Dale, Mrs. C. A. 327
Dale, Edward Everett
  article by 383–413
  mentioned 493, 505, 508
Damstra, Edward 132
Dan Sickles, Hero of Gettysburg and "Yankee King of Spain" (book) 367–68
Dana, Richard Henry 449
Dancey, J. S. 336
Dandridge, Tenn. 354–55
Danenhower, W. W. 105, 106
Danforth, A. H. 166
Danforth, G. W. 166
Danforth estate, the 149
Darneille, Frank 492
Dartaguiette, Diron 49
Davenport, Eugene 342
Davidson, Peyton 262
Davidson, William F. 262
Davis, Charles G.
  article by 227–37
  mentioned 269
Davis, David 14, 154, 186, 203
Davis, George T. M.
  quoted 485–86
Davis, James E. 90
Dawes, Mary E. 309
Daws, Frederick W. 249
Dawson, John 101
Day, Stephen A. 77
Decatur, Ill. 428
De Champs, ——— 124
Deems, ——— (professor) 310
Deere, John 418
Degan, Mathias J. 445
Delanglez, Jean 262
Delaware Indians 123
Delisle, Legardeur
  biographical data 50–51
  journal 52–57
  letter 51–52
Dement, John 101
Democratic Party
  contest for U.S. Senate (1885) 437–41
  conventions (1944) 79, 85, 87
  Greenbackers, convention with 428, 433–35

Streeter elected by....424
Streeter in....423
Trumbull candidate of....432
mentioned....425, 429
Democratie en Amérique (book)....207
Des Plaines River....451
Detroit, Mich....42, 44
Detroit River....42, 43
Detroit (steamboat)....292–93
Deuel, Mrs. Thorne....493
Dewey, Thomas E....84
De Witt County, Ill....154
Dialect, southern Ill....476–80
Dickens, Charles....99, 277, 451–52
Dickinson, Edward....245
Dickinson County, Kan..180–81, 182, 194
Diehm, Mrs. Albert....264, 371
Diesel, Rudolf....208
Dill, Minnie....504
Diplomat in Carpet Slippers (book)...255
Disciples of Christ Church....111, 325
Disraeli, Benjamin, Earl of Beaconsfield....461
Divan, Mrs. Walter B....269
Dix, John Adams....248
Dixon, John....456
Dixon, Ill....416, 456, 460
Doane, Mrs. W. W....372
Dobson, Mrs. George W....371
Dodson, C. B....473–75
Domain (steamboat)....281
Donaldson, Thomas....242
Doniphan, Alexander W....282
Dooley, W. O....174
Dorr, Mrs. Louise....133
Dorris, C. H....133, 372
Dorsey, Harvey....133
Dougherty, John....101
Dougherty, Leo....371
Douglas, Emily Taft....77, 93
Douglas, Stephen A....101, 366, 423
Douglas Aircraft Co....86
Douglas Avenue Methodist Church (Springfield, Ill.)....330
Douglas County, Ill....152
Drake, St. Clair....496
Drell, Muriel Bernitt....256
Dubuque, Iowa....458
Duffy, Molly....266, 504
Dugan, Hugh....265
Dugouts....401, 402–03
Dukes, E. L.
article by....295–318
mentioned....375, 503
Duncan, Kunigunde....127
Duncan, Warren W....316
Dunlap, James....64
Dunleith, Ill....460
Dunn, Charles F....312
Du Page County Historical Society....132, 265, 372
Du Quoin, Ill....479
Durham, G. Homer....369
Dwight, Henry....18
Dyer, C....332

Eades, Roscoe....135
Earhart, Mary....128
Earl, Adams....147, 166
Early Bench and Bar of Illinois (book)....468–75
East, Ernest E.
articles....244–45, 256, 365
director, Peoria Hist. Soc....373
makes speeches....268
president, Ill. State Hist. Soc...493, 494
urges writing of history....134
mentioned....505
East, Mrs. Ernest E....493
Eastham, John....297
Eaton, Henry B....133, 504
Eddy, Henry....240
Eden, Ill....479
Edgar County, Ill....488
Education
in Chicago....222
Ill. legislation....85
religious....324–25, 328, 341, 342, 343
taxes for....187
teachers' certificates....356–57
women teachers....222–24
See also Albion Normal School, Edwards County Normal College, Southern Collegiate Institute, *and* Wayland Female Institute
Edwards, Caleb....297
Edwards, Ninian....51, 101
Edwards County, Ill....238–41
Edwards County Historical Society....265, 299, 375, 503

Edwards County Loan and Building Association....298, 311
Edwards County Normal College
building dedicated....298
chartered....297
faculty....298, 300, 301
students' reminiscences of....299–303
transferred to Congregational Association....304–05
Edwardsville, Ill....345, 346
Egyptian Student, The (magazine).311–12
Eichenauer, Charles F....373
Eisenschiml, Otto....131, 371
Eldorado, Ill....479
Elections (Ill.) *see* Illinois: elections
Elgin, Ill....455
Elkhart, Ill.... 12
Elkin, William F....101
Ellis, E. W....133, 504
Ellis, Mrs. E. W....133
Ellis, John M....228
Ellis, R. F.... 63
Ellsworth, Mrs. H. L....132
Ellsworth, Henry L.
land policy....145–49, 154
Emerson, Ellen....457
Emerson, Ralph Waldo....455–58, 459
Emerson, William....455, 456
Emery, S. Hopkins....115
Emmerson, Charles....297, 306
Emmerson, Louis L....375
Emmons, L. E....373
Englewood Historical Association....132
English, M. N....338
English Settlement (Ill.)....238–41
Englishwoman in America, The (book).460
Engstrom, Charles L.... 82
Episcopalians....220
Equal Rights Party....414
Equality, Ill....479
Erie Canal....498
Estabrook, George H....361
Eureka, Ill.... 95
Evanston, Ill....459, 498
Evanston Historical Society....266
Eversole, Mildred
articles by....71–98, 345–50
mentioned....136, 494
Ewing, P. L....372
Excelsior (steamboat)....455
Far West: or, A Tour Beyond the Mountains, The (book)....447
"Farewell to Rock River Valley"(poem).453
Farmer and the Rest of Us, The (book).496
Farmers' Alliance....200
Farmers' Alliance for Cook County...443
Farmers' Alliance Movement....443
Farmers' Mutual Benefit Association of Illinois....443
Farnham, Eliza W.
quoted....358–60
mentioned....447
Farnham or Farnam, Lucien....
....110, 112, 113, 117
Faxon, Mrs. Lloyd....269
Faye, Stanley
article edited by....38–57
mentioned....136
Fell, Jesse W....14, 15, 186
Fenoglio, T. A....370
Ferris, Mrs. R. D....502
Ficklin, Orlando B....152
Field, Eugene....464
Field, Marshall, III....363
Field, Pearl I....131
Field, Mrs. Walter....265
Fifty Golden Years (brochure)....258
Finkeldie, Norma Jean....264
First, Georgia....373
First Printers of Chicago, The (book)..127
Fish, Daniel....254
Fisher, Stephen E....325
Fisk, Clinton B....414
Fitch, Mrs. Alice....298
Fitch, Edward C....298, 300
Fitzgerald, Julian T....503
Flag, ———....471
Flagg, Edmund....447
Flagg, Norman G....133, 504
Flaherty, Anne C....494
Flannery, James, Sr....371
Flower, George
history of English Settlement..238–41
mentioned....317, 497
Flower, Richard....238
Fond-du-Lac, Wis....289
Forbes, Esther....263
Ford, Anna....244
Ford, Charlotte E.... 67
Ford, Julia E....244

Ford, Margaret....373
Ford, Mary F....244
Ford, Sewell G....244
Ford, Thomas
burial place....245
history of Illinois....99–104
proceeds from book....244
Ford County, Ill.
Scott sells land in....169
Sibley estate in....164
Sullivant estate in....157, 159, 161
tenancy in....193–94, 203–04
mentioned....154
Ford's Theatre (Washington, D. C.)....247, 248
Fordham, Elias P....447
Forsyth, Thomas
letter quoted....123–24
Fort de Chartres....48, 50, 52, 57
Fort Dearborn....143, 447
Fort Henry....489
Fort Hope....243
Fort Lewis.... 88
Fort Mississippi....39, 41
Fort Riley....143
Fort Russell....372, 504
Fort St. Louis
built....38, 39, 43
Indian tribes at....39, 43
La Forest ordered to leave.... 41
Fort Scott....143
Fort Sheridan.... 71
Fort Snelling....143
Fortune, Fannie E....115
Fowler, Augusta Pratt....508
Fowler, F. S....370, 495, 507
Fowler, Moses....147, 166
Fox, Richard E....133
Fox Indians
and Illinois Indians....43, 44, 53
mentioned....45, 49, 57
Fox River....453
Fraizer, C. M.... 68
Frances Willard: From Prayers to Politics (book)....128
Francis, Simeon....365
Freeman, Mrs. Courtney D....265
Freeman, Jonathan....240
Freeport, Ill....366, 456–58
French, Augustus C....101
French, I. H....326
French Academy....209
French people....38–57 *passim*
Fresnel, Augustin Jean....208
Fridley, Benjamin F....468–69
Fritschel, Herm....505
Froehling, Walter Otto.... 87
From Log Schoolhouse to Church Tower (booklet)....498
Frontier, *see* Pioneers
Fugina, Frank J....368, 369
Fulbright, James William....263
Fulfs, Mrs. Wilbur....266
Fuller, Margaret....452–54
Fuller, William W....453
Fullerton, William.... 18
Fulton County, Ill....152
Fulwider, Addison L.
quoted....251–52
Funk, Eugene.... 95
Funk, Isaac
buys land....173
estate described....154–57
livestock raised....165
tenant policy....186, 198, 204
Funk, Jesse....154, 155
Funk estate, the....149
Funk's Grove....155
Funk's Grove Township....156

Gage, Daniel....133
Gage County, Neb....182, 194, 204
Gale, George Washington....421
Galena, Ill....450, 455, 456
Galesburg, Ill.
army hospital in.... 86
authors visit....456, 465
Streeter attends college in....418–22
Gallicchio, Pascale....266
Galva, Ill....369
"Ganymede to his Eagle" (poem)....453
Gardiner, Ruth M.... 86
Gardiner General Hospital (Chicago)....85–86
Gardner, Henry A.... 24
Garfield, Elva....372
Garland, Hamlin....466–67
Gates, Paul Wallace
article by....143–206
mentioned....269

Gaty, McCune & Co. (St. Louis)..... 23
Geneva, Ill.....453
Geneva Historical Society.....372
George, Adda.....369
George, Henry.....444
George, Jeff T.....308
George, Milton.....443
Gerds, Mayme E.....264
Gergen, Charles F.....264
Gergen, Mrs. Charles F.....371
Germans.....91, 160
Gibson City, Ill..... 95
Gillespie, Joseph..... 64
Gillespie, Ill..... 73
Gillett, John D.....14, 154, 198, 204
Gladstone, William E.....202
Gladstone, Ill.....435
Glasgow, Mo.....26, 29, 30
Glencoe Historical Society.....266
Glenn, James.....233, 234
Glenn, Thomas.....233, 234
Godfrey, Benjamin..... 10
Goe, Mrs. Theodore J.....266, 504
Golconda, Ill.....479
Gold mines.....45, 46
Golightly, T. H.....131, 265
Goltra, Mabel.....133
Goodheart, Mrs. Marshall F.....507
Gordon, Robert L..... 86
Gorham, Ill..... 79
Gottschalk, Louis Moreau
quoted.....253
Gove, Elijah..... 63
Graff, Everett D.....124
Grafton, Ill..... 78
Graham, Mentor.....127
Graham's Magazine.....451
Grand Detour, Ill.....418
Grand Island.....53, 54
Grand Tower, Ill..... 79
Grand View, Ill.....488
Grange.....425, 427, 443
Grangerism.....193
Grant, Fred.....462
Grant, Mrs. Fred.....462
Grant, Ulysses S.
in Cairo.....242–44
in Chicago.....461–62
Graves, William C.....249
Gravier, Jacques.....40, 42, 43
Gray, Albert.....313
Great Lakes, The (book).....129
Great Lakes Greyhound Lines, The..
.....367, 501
Great Lakes Historical Society.....261
Great Western Railroad..... 11
Greater Egypt Association.....495
Green, ———.....294
Green, Dwight H.
appoints Secretary of State..... 84
elected Governor..... 93
makes speeches.....84, 268
nominated for Governor..... 76
signs legislative bill..... 71
Green, Marianna.....249
Green, Rosemary.....264
Green Bay, Wis.....497
Greenback Labor Party.....429
Greenback Party
candidates for president.....432, 434
conventions.....428–29, 430, 435
decline.....433
Independent Reform Party connections.....426
Streeter's connection with.....
.....428–30, 437, 438
Greenhut, J. B.....373
Greve, John.....373
Gridley, Asahel
frontier landlord.....149, 154, 182, 186
seeks railroad legislation.....12, 14, 18
Gridley, Eleanor..... 79
Griffin, Emmett P.....371
Griffith, John L..... 96
Griffith, Will.....135
Grigg, John
speculates in land 147, 150–52, 173, 203
Griglik, Casimir..... 77
Grisell, Frank.....370
Grove, Mrs. H. P.....370
Grover, A. J.....439
Groves, Isaac.....319
Groves, Mrs. J. W.....265
Groves, William M..... 86
Growing Up with Chicago (book)....259
Growing Up with Southern Illinois, 1820 to 1861, from the Memoirs of Daniel Harmon Brush (book)..126
Growing With Rockford (booklet).....258
Grundy County, Ill.

Corcoran speculation in.....152–53
Scott land in.....167
Scully land in.....178, 180, 185, 199
tenancy in.....204
mentioned.....154
Gubbins, Mrs. Edna.....503
Guide to the Manuscripts of the Wisconsin Historical Society.....260–61
Gulick, A. P.....336

"Half-faced camps".....387
Hale, Robert.....21
Hall, James.....447–48
Hall, W. F.....130
Hamilton, Archibald.....183
Hamilton, George H.....184
Hamilton, James C.....184
Hamilton, Lacon and Eastern Railroad Co.....35
Hamlin, John.....244, 245
Hampshire, Ill.....95
Hancock County, Ill.....430
Hanlon, H. E.....369
Hanna, Marcus.....98
Hanna, Philip K.....233
Hannon, James E.....268
Hansen, Arthur C.....500
Hansen, Paul.....73
Happy, William W.....101
Harbor and River Convention (Chicago).....278, 285–87
Hardy, Guy U.
biographical sketch.....299
reminiscences.....300–01
mentioned.....309
Hardy, James Fay.....314
Hardy, Lady Duffus.....462
Harper, Owen E.....309, 310
Harris, _____ (minister).....304
Harris, Benjamin F.....159
Harris, Mrs. J. Max.....371
Harris, Jesse W.
article by.....476–80
Harris, Joel Chandler.....500
Harris, Joseph.....297
Harris, Levinus.....296, 302, 303
Harris, Mamie.....302, 303
Harris, Sheldon A.....306, 307
Harris, Walter.....303
Harrisburg, Ill.....495
Harrison, Benjamin.....414
Harrison, Carter H.....259
Harrison, J. H.....505
Harrison, J. R.....268
Harrison, William Henry.....498
Harrisonville, Ill.....79
Harry of the West (steamboat).....279
Hart, Charles Henry.....500
Harte, Bret.....450
Hasbrouck, Jacob L.....504
Haskell, George E.....417–18
Hatcher, Harlan.....129, 497–98
Hatfield, James Taft.....132
Hatheway, Rose.....473–74
Hauberg, John H.....373, 493, 494
Haupt, Hans Max.....83
Haupt, Herbert.....83, 87
Haverly's Theater (Chicago).....461
Hawkins, S. T.....320
Hawley, George E.....23
Hay, A. T.....29
Hay, John Milton
letters.....108–09
mentioned.....255
Hay, Milton.....108
Haymarket Riot.....444–45
Hays, John Herbert.....135
Hayward, Oscar C.....495
"Hazelwood' (estate).....453
Heinl, Frank J.
letters.....109–11, 117–18
mentioned.....111, 112, 113, 116, 117
Hemmingway, Amanda Anginetta.....310
Henderson, C. N.....301
Henderson, Fred.....132
Henderson, William.....423
Henderson County, Ill.....430
Hendrickson, Walter B.....267
Hennessy, Mrs. Anita H.....371
Henry, W. W.....320
Henry County, Ill.....174, 234, 235
Henry's Lincoln (book).....366
Herget estate, the.....204
Herndon, William H.....499
Herrick, Robert.....466
Hershey, Lewis B.....76
Hibbard, Elias.....63
Hickox, Virgil.....14
Hill, Harlin.....312
Hill, Lorin C.....370

Hillsboro, Ill. 349, 350
Hillsboro Academy 350
Hilton, Helen E. .....58n.
Hines, Mrs. E. F. 265
Hines, Frank Bristow
biographical sketch 308–09
officer, Southern Collegiate Institute 307–11, 313–14, 317
Hines, Laura 313
Hines, Marion 313
Hinsdale, Ill. 265
Hirshheimer, H. J. 262
Hissrich, Charles R 258
Histoire romaine a Rome. L' (book) ...209
Historic McLean (booklet) 260
History of Illinois (by Ford) 99–104
History of Illinois Congregational and Christian Churches 109–18
History of the English Settlement in Edwards County, Illinois 238–41
Hitler, Adolph 503
Hodgson, Ella Russell 312
Hodgson, Sadie 308
Hoefer, Mrs. Chester A. 374, 507
Hoener & Hubbard (St. Louis) 351
Hoffman, Charles Fenno 450
Hogan, John 101
Hoge family, the 154, 204
Hogue, Mrs. K. C. 503
Holabird and Roche (Chicago) 342
Holbrook, Darius B. 451
Holderman family, the 154, 204
Holley, George W. 127
Holly, William H. 81
Holmes, Miss _____ 108
Holy Family Parish (Cahokia, Ill.) ..351
Homestead Law (1862) 149, 398
Hone, Margaret 278
Hone, Philip
biographical sketch 277
Great Lakes trip 288, 291–94
at Harbor and River Convention (Chicago) 284–87
Illinois River trip 283
Mississippi River trip 278–80
in St. Louis 280–82
in Sheboygan, Wis. 288–91
stagecoach trip in Ill. 284
Hoopeston, Ill. 95
Hoover, Herbert 88
Horner, Mrs. C. M. 371
Horner, Henry 363
Hough, M. T. 297
House Dividing: Lincoln as President Elect, A (book) 364
Houser, M. L. 256
Howard, _____ 288
Howard, Mrs. Eva E. 370
Howe, Beverly W. 256
Howland Island 162
Hoxie, _____ 346
Hubach, Robert R.
article by 446–67
mentioned 508
Hudgins, W. Edgar 308
Hudson's Bay Co. 294
Huff, J. R. 371
Huff, Ralph J. 264
Huff, Spencer 326
Hughes, Edward J. 58n., 84, 85
Hughes, Thomas 461
Hugo, Victor 225
Hull, William 498
Hummer Manufacturing Co. 80, 82, 90
Hungate, J. P. 438
Hunt, Mrs. Wilson P. 373
Hunter, E. C. 77
"Hunter of the Prairies, The" (poem) .449
Huntington, Charles L. 108
Huntley, Clara 311
Hurst, W. C. 502
Huschle, R. J. 371
Hutchins, Minnie 300
Hutchinson, Jesse 499
Huxley, Thomas Henry 461
Hyde, William G. 501
Hyslop, Maggie 298

Ibbotson, I. W. 316
Iben, Icko 130
Iben, Mrs. Icko 493
Iberville, Pierre Lemoyne, Sieur de .39, 40
Icarians 485
Idaho 201
Illinois
authors visit 446–67
banking act interpreted 72
corn sales "frozen" 77
courts, early 468–75
"D-day" 82

Democratic conventions.....79, 85, 87
divorce law interpreted..... 90
elections
general (1944)..... 93
governor (1880).....430–32
primary (1944).....76–77
soldier voting law (1944)..... 71
U.S. senator (1885).....437–41
engineering law interpreted..... 90
farmers' organizations..425–28, 443–44
federal ballot..... 87
firemen's pension act.....93–94
floods.....78, 79, 80, 81, 82
General Assembly.....71, 424, 437–41
Grange.....425
Greenback-Labor convention...430–32
Insurance, Dept. of..... 77
landed estates, *see* Land *and* Tenancy
lawyers, early.....468–75
militia.....77–78, 80
municipal airport law.....76, 93
oil production tax..... 76
pioneer life in.....385
railroads, early.....7–37
Republican conventions.....79, 82, 84
sales tax..... 76
Secretary of State..... 84
schools..... 85
See also Education
service officers' school..... 83
soldier voting..... 71
soldiers, *see* United States: Army
song.....245–46
southern.....476–80
State House cornerstone..... 86
strikers in..... 72
Supreme Court
Caton on.....468
decisions.72, 76, 90, 93–94, 196, 445
tax delinquent property.....85, 94
tornado..... 83
unemployment compensation..... 72
veterans' rehabilitation..... 83
wages for women..... 85
weather.....89, 96, 97
workers "rationed"..... 85
Illinois and Michigan Canal.....284
Illinois Central Railroad
acquires St. Louis, Peoria and Northern Railway.....33, 36
and Alton R.R.....11, 17
enters Bloomington..... 15
enters McLean County.....155
land sold by
contracts for.....165, 173, 204
in Livingston County.....184
prices charged.....149–51
to Allerton.....174
to Funk.....155
to Sullivant.....157, 158
Lincoln's connection with.....256
receives land grant.....148
records in Newberry Library.....131
Illinois College.....350
Illinois Country
boundary..... 48
population..... 49
Renault seeks grant in.....38, 50
search for mines in.....45, 47
See also Illinois River
trading posts limited..... 49
Illinois Emigrant.....448
Illinois Gazette.....448
Illinois Indians.....39, 40, 42, 43–44
Illinois Intelligencer.....448
Illinois Journal
quoted.....481–85
Illinois Libraries (bulletin).....130
Illinois Monthly Magazine.....448
Illinois River
description.....283
floods.....78, 81
Indian tribes on.....39, 40
search for metals on.....38, 45–57
Tonti's trading post on..... 41
Whitman travels on.....454
Illinois State Farmers' Association....425
Illinois State Historical Library
Gettysburg address in.....76, 264, 363
manuscripts in..120, 126, 242, 363, 438
publishes *Lincoln Bibliography*..254–55
State Historian resigns....269, 363–64
Illinois State Historical Society
annual meeting.....135, 254, 492–95
deaths of two officers.....507–08
Secretary resigns.....269, 363–64
spring tour.....495
mentioned.....452, 503
Illinois State Independent Reform Party.....426–27

Illinois State Journal
Lincoln's association with.....365
quoted.....247–48
Illinois State Library.....130
Illinois State Museum.....501–02
Illinois Union of Telephone Workers.. 77
Illinois, University of
commencement.....248–49
former president dies..... 95
Methodist activities, *see* Wesley Foundation (Urbana, Ill.)
trustees.....82, 85, 93
Illinois Wesleyan University.249–50, 327
Independence, Ill.....479
Independent Party.....427
Independent Reform Party.....427–28
Indiana.....362, 385
Indiana Magazine of History.130, 261, 365
Indians
Alaska.....501–02
relations with white men.....214–17
See also names of specific tribes
Industrial Reform Party.....414
Ingersoll, S. A.....307
Ingler, F. M.....298, 300, 301, 302
Inland Seas (quarterly).....261
Inlet Grove, Ill.....416–19
Internal Improvement System...100, 101
Intimate Memories of Lincoln (book).. 498–99
Iowa.....187, 194, 201, 203, 385
Ireland
estates liquidated.....181
Gladstone land reforms.....202
tenancy in.....176–78, 185, 192
Iroquois County, Ill.....71, 146, 154, 166
Irving, Washington....210, 277, 450, 451
Irwin, Mrs. Leaton.....373
Irwin, Mrs. Robert.....493
Isham, Robert T.....503
Italians..... 91
Ivins, Joseph.....249

Jackman, John A..... 22
Jackson, Andrew.....100, 414
Jackson, J. R.....374
Jackson, R. L.....61n., 68n.
Jackson County, Ill..... 81
Jacksonville, Ill..115, 117, 118, 448, 459
Jacksonville, Alton and St. Louis Railroad Co..... 34
Jacksonville and Carrollton Railroad Co..... 35
James, Edmund Janes..328, 331, 334, 339
James, Henry
quoted.....208
James, James A.....132, 494, 498
Janson, Eric.....369
Japanese..... 91
Jarrot, Nicholas.....351–53
Jasper County, Ind.....166
Jefferson, Thomas.....238, 414
Jefferson Barracks, Mo.....96, 279–80
Johnson, Andrew.....247
Johnson, Calvin.....371
Johnson, Camille Marie.....314
Johnson, Emil A. W..... 75
Johnson, G. J..... 64
Johnson, Gustaf J..... 88
Johnson, J. Wesley.....306
Johnson, Sveinbjorn..... 77
Johnson's Island.....498
Johnston, ———.....210
Joliet and Bloomington Extension..16–18
Joliet and Chicago Railroad 17, 20, 21, 24
Joliet Hotel.....451
Jolliet, Louis.....262
Jolly, Mrs. Fannie.....339
Jones, Edgar DeWitt.....256
Jones, Paul F..... 77
Jones, W. F.....506
Joppa, Ill.....479
Joseph Smith, Prophet-Statesman (book).....369
Joutel, Henri..... 51
Joyce, Maurice V.....268
Juchereau, Charles..... 47
Judge, V. H.....265
Juneau, Alaska.....502
Junkersfeld, Peter.....249

Kankakee County, Ill.....154, 166
Kansas
anti-Scully feeling in.....195, 200
Illinois emigrants to.....194
land taxation in.....187
pioneers in.....385, 397
public lands sold in.....173, 180, 193
Scully buys land in...180–81, 185, 204

tenancy in....203
Kansas City, St. Louis and Chicago Railroad Co.... 28
Kapp, John W....492
Karnak, Ill....479
Kaskaskia, Ill.... 48
Kaskaskia Indians....39, 40, 41, 46
Keating, Edward.... 18
Keating, William Hypolitus....212
Keeney, Albert F....371
Keig, Marshall....265
Kelly, Edward J.... 87
Kemble, Fanny....277
Kennedy, Patrick.... 51
Kenny, William.... 64
Kent, Alexander J....166
Kentucky....385
Kenyon, Fergus L....306
Kern & Lee (Chicago)....106
Kespohl, Julius....373
Ketchum, Mrs. Gertrude....265
Ketchum, M. S....249
Key, Francis Scott....368
Kilbury, James S....320
Killough, Mrs. Sherman....503
Kimball, Clara.... 69
Kimball, Clara Niagara.... 68
Kimball, Edward M.... 68
Kimball, Francis Wayland....68, 69
Kimball, James Spencer
biographical sketch....67–68
described.... 69
principal, Wayland Female Institute....59, 64, 65
Kimball, Mrs. James Spencer..64, 65, 69
Kimball, Spencer.... 68
Kincaid, James....233, 234
King, T. Butler....286
Kingsley, Charles....461
Kingston, Mass....345
Kinley, David....95, 343
Kipling, Rudyard....465–66
Kishwaukee, Ill....453
Klein, Raleigh....265
Knapp, Colby.... 14
Knowlton, Lincoln B....472
Knox, (William) Franklin....79, 80
Knox College....415
See also Knox Manual Labor College
Knox County, Ill....422, 424
Knox Manual Labor College....419–21
See also Knox College
Koerner, Gustavus....468
Kohlhepp, Margaret....58n., 67
Kriege, Lenore....372
Krum, John M.... 64
Kuhns, Frederick
letter of....112–17
mentioned....110

Labor Reform Party....428
Lacon, Ill....457
Lady Elgin (steamship)....498
La Forest, François Daupin de....
....38, 41, 42, 47
La Glaise River.... 52
Lagrange, Joseph L....208
Lake Erie (book)....497–98
Lake House Hotel (Chicago)....451
Lake Huron....293
Lake Michigan
described....212, 213, 285, 291–92
Lake Ontario (book)....366
Lake Pimiteoui
De Liette at....45, 49
Indian tribes at....40, 42, 43, 44
mentioned.... 38
See also Pimiteoui
Lakeside Classics, The....126
Lamb, Mrs. Chauncey T....265
Lamothe, ——— (steamboat captain) 23
Lamothe or Lamotte, Antoine de, *see* Cadillac, Antoine de Lamothe
Lanark, Ill.... 95
Land
alien ownership attacked....195–203
estates....143–206 *passim*
See also names of landowners
fertility declines....396
government disposes of....
..144, 148–49, 152, 205, 395, 398, 402
grain crops....
155, 157, 158, 160, 164–65, 169–70, 171
home sites....401
prices....149–52, 156, 157, 159, 169, 174, 178–79, 181–85, 398
railroads sell....149–51, 157, 158, 193
speculation....
....144, 147, 148, 150–53, 193–95, 203

See also Livestock farming *and* Tenancy
Land of the Dollar, The (book).....466
Landis, Kenesaw Mountain..... 94
Lane, Harriet.....269
Lanphier, Mrs. Ira.....266
Lansing, J. Ortho.....298, 300
Laplace, Marquis Pierre Simon de....208
La Salle, Cavelier de
builds fort.....39, 43
commissions Tonti..... 41
travels on Illinois River.....50, 51
mentioned..... 47
La Salle, Ill.....454, 456
La Salle County, Ill.....198
Latham, R. B.....12, 14
Latrobe, Charles Joseph.....449
Lavoisier, Antoine Laurent.....208
Law, John.....47, 50
Lawndale-Crawford Historical Association (Chicago).....131
Lawyers, early Illinois.....468–75
Lay, Chester F..... 97
Lead mines.....46, 49–50
Lebanon, Ill.....452, 479
Le Brink, Mrs. Margaret.....370
Lee, Oliver H..... 12
Lee Center, Ill.....416–17
Lee County, Ill.....416
Lee County Historical Society...266, 504
Lehigh, Lydia.....311
Lehman, Carl L.....506
Lentz, E. G.....374
Leonard, Howard..... 81
Lester, Ada G.....373
Letters from Illinois.....447
Lewis, John C.....306
Liberty, Ill.....479
Liette, Pierre de
at Fort St. Louis.....38–39
at Montreal..... 45
commissioner to Illinois River..... 44
forbidden to trade..... 42
returns to Canada..... 49
trading station at Chicago.....39, 41
mentioned..... 47
Life in Prairie Land (book).....447
Lincoln, Abraham
anecdotes about.....258, 485–86
articles on.....
.....255–56, 261–62, 365, 499–501
assassination.....247–48
birthday observed..... 73
in Black Hawk War.....449
books on..... 71,
79, 127–28, 254–55, 364, 366, 498–501
directory of collectors.....262–63
elected president.....101
elected to legislature.....101
Gettysburg address.....76, 264, 363
Ill. Cent. R.R. connections.....256
and Mentor Graham.....127–28
on Mexican War.....100
nominated for president.....109
political philosophy.....500–01
statues..... 90
totem pole.....501–02
mentioned.....367, 414, 448, 461
Lincoln, Mary Todd.....364–65
Lincoln, Robert.....485–86
Lincoln, Tad.....485–86
Lincoln, Ill..... 14
Lincoln Among His Friends (book)...498
Lincoln and the Hutchinson Family Singers (booklet).....499
Lincoln and the Land of the Sangamon (book).....499
Lincoln, Ann Rutledge and the Pioneers of New Salem (booklet).....499
Lincoln Bibliography 1839–1939..254–55
Lincoln Group of Chicago.....255
Lincoln Group Papers.....255–56
Lincoln's Association with the Journal (booklet).....365
Linder, Usher F.....101
Lindstrom, Ralph G.....256
Linsted, Art.....506
Litchfield, Elisha..... 18
Litchfield and St. Louis Railway Co.. 37
Litchfield, Carrollton and Western Railroad Co..... 34
Litchfield, Carrollton & Western Railway Co..... 34
Little, E. P.....336
Little, Mrs. Homer M.....371
Little Crow Prairie..... 55
Little Crow River..... 55
Littler, David.....198, 203, 204

Livestock farmers
Alexander....165–66
Allerton....173–74, 178
Funk....154–56
Sibley....163–64
Sullivant....157–58, 161, 178
Livingston County, Ill.
Bunn estate in....162
influence of railroad on....17–18
Murray estate in....198
Scott estate in....167–71, 184
Sullivant estate in.157, 159, 161–62, 184
tenant system in....188, 195
mentioned....154
Lockhart, Bess....370
Lockwood, Belva....414
Loesch, Frank J.... 88
Log cabins
described....387–88
life in....389–94
location....385–86, 394–401
Logan, John A....437–40
Logan County, Ill.
anti-Scully feeling in....189, 196
Gillett and Littler estates in...198, 204
land prices in....151, 183
large estates in....154
Scott land sales in....169
Scully land in...178, 180, 183, 185, 204
Long, George W.... 63
Long, Stephen Harriman....212
"Long Nine"....100
Long Pull from Stavanger, The Reminiscences of a Norwegian Immigrant, A....368
Longstreet, Mrs. James....492
Looking Glass Prairie, Ill....452
Loose, Isaac.... 14
Lore and Lure of the Upper Mississippi River....368
Lorton, H. N.
letter from....250–51
Louis XIV
authorizes trading company.... 42
bounds Illinois Country.... 48
limits trading posts.... 49
orders expedition to the Illinois..44, 45
Tonti's petition to....39–41
Louisiana....184, 385
Louisiana and Missouri River Railroad Co....25–26, 28, 35
Louisiana Bridge Co.... 35
Louisiana Territory
Cadillac governor of.... 45
Ill. River region in....47–48
search for minerals in....45–57
Tonti seeks concession in....39–41
Louisville, Evansville and St. Louis Railroad....297
Love, S. W....336
Lovelace, A. J....250
Lowman, Anna....506
Lucas, Scott W....76, 87, 93
Ludwig, A. F....133
Lueder, Arthur C....77, 93
Lukens, Lura....373
Lyon, Mrs. M. H., Jr....373
Lyons, Richard J.... 76
Lytle, Harry J....256

McCammon, G. E....336, 339
McClernand, John A....101, 243
McClugage, David H.... 98
McClure, James E.... 72
McClurkin, John C....297
McComas, H. C....174
McCormick, Cyrus Hall....224
McCormick, R. R....129
McCullough, Emily....133
McDaniel, R. F....332, 338
McDonough County, Ill....152, 430
McDowell, William Fraser
interest in Trinity Church....330, 332
interest in Wesley Foundation.....
....335, 336, 338–39, 342, 343
McFarland, James F....132
McGee Creek.... 53
McHarry estate....204
McIlvaine, Caroline M....508
Mackinac Island....292
Mackinaw River.... 54
McKinley, William....414
McLaughlin, Frederic.... 96
McLaughlin, Walter W....85, 93
McLean, John....240
McLean County, Ill.
booklet on....260
Funk property in....155–56
land prices in....151

large estates in....154
Scott property in....167–71
McLean County Historical Society....260, 504
McMasters, S. Y.... 63
McMurtrie, Douglas C....91, 127
McMurtry, R. Gerald....499–500
McNair, Bruce....131
Macon, Nathaniel....133
Macon County, Ill....152
Macon County Historical Society....133, 266, 372, 504
Macpherson, Julia....492
McPherson, W. M.... 64
McRae, Eunice....259
McRae, Joseph A....259
MacVeagh, Franklin....463
McVicker, James J.... 91
McWilliams, _____....290
McWilliams estate, the....176
Madden, F. B....332, 336
Madison County Historical Society....133, 372, 504
Malaria in the Upper Mississippi Valley, 1760–1900 (book)....257
Malhoit estate....149, 204
Malone, Dumas....263
Manitou Islands....292
Mann, Naomi Genevieve....314
Mansion House (Belleville, Ill.)....452
Marest, Pierre Gabriel.... 40
Marion County, Kan...180–82, 194, 204
Maroa Indians.... 39
Marquart, A. A....131
Marquette, Jacques....262, 446
Marriage proposal (1859)....119–20
Marryat, Frederick....277, 450
Marseilles, Ill....454
Marshall, Albert O. quoted....357–58
Marshall, Benjamin H.... 83
Marshall, Helen....373
Marshall County, Ill....266–67
Marshall County, Kan....182, 194
Marshall's Landing.... 53
Martin, William....174
Martin Chuzzlewit (book)....451
Martineau, Harriet....450
Mason, Roswell B....19–20
Mason County, Ill....204
Massachusetts Society for the Advancement of Christian Instruction....221
Matheny, Willard R....495
Matlack, Mrs. William H....370
Matsler, John....174
Matter and a Supreme Intelligence (book)....475
Matteson, Joel A.... 18
Mattoon, Ill....458
May, William L....472
Mayo General Hospital (Galesburg).. 86
Maywood Historical Society....133, 504
Mazzuchelli, Charles....130
Meacham, Larned E....131
Medill, Joseph....465
Meharry, Jesse....328, 332
Meiers, Mrs. Helen....370
Memorie Istoriche ed Edificanti d'un Missionario Apostolico (book)...130
Menges, E. V....371
Mensenkamp, Louis E....269
Mentor Graham: The Man Who Taught Lincoln (book)....127
Mercer County, Ill..233, 235, 422–26, 430
Mérimée, Prosper....209
Mermaid Hotel (Lebanon, Ill.)....452
Merrimac River....46, 47
Merriman (Merryman, Dr. E. H.?)..282
Merritt, Earl W.... 77
Metals
search for on Ill. River....38, 46–57
Metcalf, Charles....309
Metcalf, Clarence S....261
Metchigamia.... 52
Methodist Episcopal Church
activities....220, 221, 222
Albion....314
Evanston....498
Lee Center Township....416
Urbana, *see* Parks Chapel, Trinity Church, *and* Wesley Foundation
Watseka....339
Metzel, George V....341
Mexican War....148
Meyer, Mrs. Harry L....133, 504
Meyer, Karl A....85, 93
Meyers, A. J....370
Michels, Clyde....309
Michigan and the Old Northwest (book).367

Michigan Southern Railroad..... 17
Mid-America (quarterly).....262
Mid-Day Luncheon Club (Springfield, Ill.).....502
Midwest Pioneer: His Ills, Cures & Doctors, The (book).....256–57
Milburn, Edith.....314
Milford, Ill..... 95
Milk, Lemuel.....166
Miller, George W.....328
Miller, J. Bert.....249
Miller, John C.....133, 265
Milwaukee, Wis.....288
Mines
search for on Ill. River.....38, 45–57
Minneapolis, Minn.....444
Minnesota.....201
Minshall, William A.....101
Miscellanies (book).....475
Mississippi River
Alton Railroad crossing.....26–30
book on.....368
bridge collapses..... 87
bridge dedicated..... 96
described.....278–80, 283
floods.....78, 79, 80, 82
mentioned.....40, 45, 454
Mississippi River Bridge Co....27, 28, 35
Missouri
antialien legislation.....201
Scully buys land in.....181, 185
settlers in.....194, 385
tenancy in.....203
Missouri River.....26, 29, 386
Mrs. Lincoln Refurbishes the White House (booklet).....364–65
Mitchell, John J.....23, 24, 28
Mitchell, William H..... 23
Moingwena Indians..... 39
Monaghan, Jay
articles by.....261, 365, 468–75
books by.....254–55
makes speech.....267
officer, Ill. State Hist. Soc.....495
secures Lincoln totem pole.....502
Monaghan, Mrs. Jay.....492
Monroe County, Ill..... 81
Montgomery, E. B.....373
Montgomery County, Ill.....
.....345, 347, 349, 350
Montgomery Ward and Co.
government operation of.....
.....78, 79, 81, 97, 98
strike at..... 77
Monticello, Ill.....175
Moody, William Vaughn.....466–67
Moore, Arthur.....496
Moore, C. H.....154
Moore, F. A.....455
Moore, Grace.....249
Moore, John.....101
Moore, Thomas C.....244
Morey, Lloyd.....334
Morgan County, Ill.....165, 235
Morgan County Historical Society...
.....133, 267, 372–73, 505
Mormons.....369, 481–85
Morris, Oscar.....309
Morrison, William R.....437–40
Morrow, Jeremiah.....286
Morton, Joy.....372
Morton Arboretum (Lisle, Ill.).....372
Moss, Charles M. 321, 325, 326, 330, 334
"Mounds, The" (Adams County, Ill.)..116
Mount Joliet, Ill.....451
Mount Olive Coal Railroad Co..... 37
Mt. Pulaski, Ill..... 12
Moyers, W. N.....129
Movers' Brief History of Pulaski County.....129
Mueller, Joseph.....371
Munn, Mrs. Loyal L.....507
Munsell, E. B.....182
Murphy, Francis B..... 86
Murphy, Louise.....493
Murray, Bronson.....184, 198
Murray, Warren C..... 97
Muschler, Mrs. Florence.....370
My Second Life (book).....258

Names on the Land (book).....496–97
Naper, Joseph.....101
Naples, Ill.....454
Nate, Joseph C.....328
National Farmers' Alliance.....443
National Greenback Labor Party....
.....428, 440
See also Greenback Labor Party
National Independent Party.....428
National Labor Union.....428

National Road....346
Nauvoo, Ill.
Mormon Temple described....481–85
Nauvoo House (Nauvoo, Ill.)....481
Nebraska
Allerton buys land in....174
antialien legislation in....200
Illinois emigrants to....194
land taxes in....187
public land sold in....173, 180, 193
Scully buys land in...180, 181, 185, 204
settlement of....385, 397
tenancy in....203
Negroes....496
Nesbit, J. Roy....507
Nesbit, Mrs. J. Roy....507
Nettleton, Charles.... 19
Nevins, ——....302
Nevins, Allan....278
New Athens, Ill....479
New Harmony, Ind....240, 241
New Madrid, Mo....352
New Orleans Daily Crescent....454
New Salem, Ill....127
New Salem State Park....493
New York and New Haven Railroad....19, 20
New York Historical Society....278
Newberry Library (Chicago)....131
Newcomb, Rexford....492, 493
Newcombe, Alfred W.
article by....414–45
mentioned....508
Newcomer, F. X....266
Newhall, Daniel....499
Newton County, Ind....166
Neyhart, Mrs. Louise A....366, 504
Niagara (steamboat)....291
Niccolls, John....182
Niccolls, Robert....182
Nichols, Warren....115
Nicholson, Thomas....336, 340, 342, 343
Nickell, Vernon L....495
Nickerson, William B....260
Nickols, D. F....127
Nicolay, John G....255
Noonan, Mrs. Paul....492
North and South Railroad Co. of Illinois.... 37
North Dakota....397
North Missouri Railroad.... 26
Northam, Frances....370
Northern Alliance....443–44
Northern Cross Railroad.... 7
Northwestern Alliance....443
Norton, E. F....370
Norton, J. T....296
Nothstein, I. O....260
Nuckolls County, Neb....180, 182, 194, 204

Oak Park Historical Society....133, 267, 505
Oakleaf, J. B....254
Oakleaf, J. L....373
Ochsenschlager, Paul....370
Ogden, Carl F....269, 374
Ogden, Mrs. Carl F....507
Ogden, William Butler.213, 214, 218, 226
Ogle, Joseph....489–91
Ogle County, Ill....469–71, 489
Oglesby, Richard J.
letter of....242–44
mentioned....203, 445
Ohio....385
Ohio River....278, 386
Ohm, Georg Simon....208
Oklahoma....385, 397, 403–04
Old Carthage Jail (booklet)....259
Oliver farm....199
Ollivier, ——.... 56
Oregon....396
Oregon, Ill....453
Osborn, Thomas O....487–88
Osborn, William H....184
Osborne, L. G....268
Osland, Birger....368
Ostrum, Emma....265
Ottawa, Ill....284, 450, 471, 475
Oughton estate....176
Our Great West (book)....466
Over the Alleghanies and across the Prairies. Personal Recollections of the Far West One and Twenty Years Ago....455
Owen, Harry O.... 85
Owens, Samuel J.... 23

Pace, Charles A....297
Pace, Edward M....298, 306, 307

Painter, Washington....297
Palimpsest (magazine)....130
Palmer, John M....16, 64, 426
Palmer House (Chicago)....466
Panic of 1857....147, 148
Pargellis, Stanley....500–01
Parish, William W.... 92
Parker, Francis Wayland.... 68
Parkinson, Nellis P.... 77
Parkman, Francis....450
Parks, Milton S.....319, 334
Parks, Oliver Lafayette....351, 353
Parks Air College....351
Parks Chapel (Urbana, Ill.)
  founding....319
  ministers....320–24
  new building....325–26, 334, 336
Parliament....177, 180
Parrish, George R.....306, 307
Parrish, Randall....132
Partridge, Clara.... 67
Partridge, James Otis....64n., 65n.
Partridge, Mrs. Otis....64n., 65n.
Passavant Hospital (Jacksonville, Ill.) 505
Patchin, A. D. (steamboat)....291
Patrick, Frankie....310
Patrons of Husbandry....425
Patton, R. E.....493
Patton, Mrs. R. E.....493
Paulding, James Kirke....451
Paulus, Clarence E.....371
Paxton, Ill.....432
Payson, Lewis E.....201
Peak, George J.... 95
Pease, Theodore C.....495
Peasley, J.....296
Peck, John Mason
  quoted....489–91
  mentioned....63, 64
Pennoyer, Andrew L.....114
People's Party....200
Peoria, Ill.
  authors visit....450, 454, 457, 459
  centennial....134
  described....253, 283
Peoria County, Ill.....468, 472
Peoria Historical Society.....
  ....133, 268, 373, 505
Peoria Indians.....39, 42, 43, 44
Peoria Lake.... 38
  See also Lake Pimiteoui
Perce, Hyde W.....131
Percival, C. E.....326
Perrin, L. N. Nick, Jr.....268
Perry, Oliver H.....498
Personal Narrative of Travels in Virginia, Maryland. . . and of a Residence in the Illinois Territory: 1817–1818.....447
Peru, Ill.....283, 284
Peters, Absalom....230
Peters, Morris....309
Petersburg and Springfield Rail Road Co.... 34
Peyton, John Lewis.....454–55
Philadelphia, Pa.....278, 281
Phillips, Hazel.....495
Phillips, Jesse.....243
Piatt County, Ill.
  Allerton estate in....173–75, 204
  Littler and Stuve estates in....198
  Scott land in....167, 204
  mentioned....154
Pickard, Madge E.....256
Piersel, A. C.....338
Piersel, W. G.
  article by....319–44
  mentioned....375
Pike County, Ill.... 81
Pike's Peak....396
Pilgrimage to the Lincoln Country, A (booklet)....500
Pillsbury, Charles S.... 82
Pimiteoui....53, 54, 55, 56, 57
  See also Lake Pimiteoui
Pinchon, Edgecumb....367
Pinhook, Ill.....300, 309
Pioneers
  characteristics....413
  church services....347–49
  clothing....391
  dialect....476–80
  food....390–92, 406–07
  homes....387–91, 402–08, 411–12
  household furnishings 391, 398, 400–01
  medical remedies....256–57
  migration westward....396–401
  political customs....124–25

social life.....348–49, 391–94, 409
women..392–93, 399–401, 405, 408–11
Pirie, Gordon L..... 74
Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne and Chicago Railroad..... 17
Pittsfield, Ill.....257, 258
Plain, Eleanor.....370
Planters House (St. Louis).....280
Poet and President; Riley's Estimate of Lincoln (booklet).....500
Poling, T. Chester.....373
Polish people.....197
Pollock, Thomas L.....249
Pond, Fern Nance.....256
Pope, Nathaniel.....282, 284
Populist Party.....200
Port Byron, Ill.....458
Porter, Lawson.....303
Porter, R. R.....249
Post, George Washington..... 74
Post, Russell..... 12
Postville, Ill.....12, 14
Potawatomi Indians.....123, 212
Potter, Blanche.....308
Potter, F. W.....302
Pound, Arthur.....366
Powell, Janette.....267
Prairies
described.....210, 226, 347, 403–06
migration to.....396–401
settlement of.....397, 401–12
"Prairies, The" (poem).....449
Pratt, Harry E.....256, 364
Presbyterian Church
Brich minister in.....227–34
Old School—New School controversy.....231–32
mentioned.....116, 220
Price, Melvin.....371
Princeton, Ill.....449
Pritchard, Dick.....309
Prohibition Party.....414
Promenade en Amérique; Etats-Unis—Cuba—Mexique (book).....209
Pulaski County, Ill.....129
Pulliam, Roscoe.....76, 97
Pullman, George M..... 22
Pullman, Inc.....80, 87
Purdue, _____ (evangelist).....304
Purdue, J. W.....306
Purdue, Roland W.....307

Quade, John C.....249
Quaife, Milo Milton
books edited by.....
.....126, 345, 366, 367, 497, 501
mentioned.....269
Quebec..... 40
Quincy, Ill.....82, 350, 458
Quincy and Adams County, Historical Society of.....373
Quindry, S. Eugene.....316
Quiver Lake..... 54

Railroads.....71–72, 93, 94
See also names of specific railroads
Ralph, Julian.....466
Ralston, James H.....101
Rambler in North America, The (book) 449
Randall, James G.....494, 495
Randolph County, Ill..... 81
Ravenswood-Lake View Historical Association (Chicago).....371
Ray, Mrs. Edith.....373
Raymond, H. B.....265
Reaum, Clara.....132
Red Eagle (Indian).....133
Red Jacket (Indian).....216
Red River..... 41
Redstone, Albert E.....414
Reed, Clarence.....320
Reeves, Owen T.....250
Reform Party.....427
Reichelderfer, Mrs. Edna.....373
Reid, John M.....374
Reid and Wilson.....174
Reindeer (steamer)..... 23
Reminiscences of Early Life in Illinois by Our Mother.....345
Renault, François Philippe
concession for mining operations...
.....38, 39, 43
seeks copper.....48, 51, 52, 56
works lead mine.....49–50
Renfrow, Myrtle.....309
Renne, Louis Obed.....499
Republican Party
contest for U.S. Senate (1885)..437–41
conventions (1944).....79, 82, 84

Streeter's connection with....424, 434
mentioned.....425, 428
Reynolds, John.....122–23
Reynolds, Russell B..... 92
Rice, Oren C.....306
Richardson, Robert K.....262
Richmond, Mabel.....266, 372
Ricks, Jesse Jay..... 74
Ridge Church (Edwards County, Ill.).306
Ridgely, Mrs. _____.....108
Ridgely, Charles.....165
Riggs, Romulus
tenancy under...145, 148, 153–54, 203
Riggs estate.....150
Riley, James Whitcomb.....500
Riley, Reuben A.....500
Ring, Charles O.....265
Ritcher, Charles E.....249
River and Harbor Convention (Chicago).....278, 285–87
Rivoli Township (Mercer County, Ill.).422
Robb, James..... 18
Rock Island, Ill.....456
Rock Island County, Ill.
Brich estate administered in....235–37
Brich's last trip in.....233, 234
coal discovered in.....153
Rock Island County Historical Society 373
Rock River.....453, 456
Rockford, Ill.....134, 258, 459
Roden, Carl B.....503
Roe, Mrs. Ernest.....370
Rogers, Ella.....373
Rolfe, Charles Wesley
interest in Wesley Foundation.....
.....321, 326, 328, 332, 334, 336
Roosevelt, Franklin Delano
nominated for president..... 87
signs bills.....73, 83, 84, 91
mentioned.....414
Roosevelt, Theodore..... 79
Root, John.....342, 343
Rosborough, Mrs. C. R.....373
Rose, Olive F.....300
Rosenbaum Brothers (Chicago)..... 95
Rossetti, Dante Gabriel.....461
Roulston, Mrs. Robert J.....132
Round Grove Township (Livingston County, Ill.).....184
Rountree, Hiram.....346
Rowe, Richard Yates..... 84
Rowett, Richard.....360, 361
Roy, Joseph E.....113
Ruchty, George E.....265
Ruchty, Mrs. George E.....265
Rural Park Seminary for Young Ladies 59
Rush, George Fred..... 80
Rusling, James F.....367
Rutledge, Ann.....499
Rutter, David.....354
Ryan, Dennis.....131, 505

St. Clair County, Ill..... 81
St. Clair County Historical Society...268
St. Denis, Charles Juchereau de..... 41
St. Louis, Mo.
described.....280–83
flood endangers..... 78
gateway to West.....210
mentioned.....212, 455
St. Louis (steamboat).....286, 287
St. Louis, Alton and Chicago Railroad Co.....18, 35
St. Louis, Alton and Terre Haute Railroad.....23, 24
Saint Louis and Chicago Railroad Co. 37
Saint Louis and Chicago Railway Co.. 37
St. Louis and Chicago Railway Co.... 37
St. Louis and Eastern Railway Co.... 37
Saint Louis and Peoria Railroad Co... 37
St. Louis, Chicago and Peoria Railway Co..... 37
St. Louis, Jacksonville and Chicago Railroad Co.....24, 25, 34
St. Louis, Peoria and Northern Railway Co.....33, 36, 37
St. Paul (steamboat)..... 23
Sainte-Beuve, Charles Augustin.....208
Sammon, Seaglin J.....249
Sandburg, Carl.....364, 369, 448
Sangamon and North West Rail Road Co..... 34
Sangamon County, Ill..151, 154, 183, 198
Sangamon River.....174, 360
Santa Fe Railroad.....181, 193
Sault Ste. Marie, Mich.....292–94
Saunders, Horace.....256
Saunders, Laura M.....308
Sausaman, Mrs. William A.....493
Savage, Howard P..... 80

Sawyer, Frank E. . . . 372
Saybrook, Ill. . . . 192
Sayers, Judson . . . 320, 326
Scandinavians . . . 165, 197
Scarbo, George . . . 367, 501
Scheer, Luke J. . . . 367, 501
Scheffler, Emma . . . 492
Schneider, Mrs. Lenore Rideout . . . 507
Schoolcraft, Henry Rowe . . . 447
Schools, *see* Education
Schriver, L. O. . . . 108
Schuetz, Leonard William . . . 73
Schuyler County, Ill. . . . 430
Scott, Isaac . . . 167
Scott, James . . . 167
Scott, John . . . 167
Scott, Joseph . . . 167
Scott, Joseph M. . . . 167
Scott, Lucy . . . 167
Scott, Margaret . . . 167
Scott, Mary . . . 167
Scott, Matthew T., Jr.
  land operations . . . 167–73
  public opinion of . . . 176
  tenancy under . . . 184, 185, 189
  mentioned . . . 178, 203–04
Scott, Matthew T., Sr. . . . 167
Scott, William . . . 167
Scribe, Augustin Eugène . . . 225
Scribner's, Charles, Sons . . . 263
Scriven, Margaret . . . 504
Scully, William
  becomes U.S. citizen . . . 203
  buys Ill. land . . . 178, 181, 183–85
  buys Kan. and Neb. land . . 180–82, 185
  buys La. land . . . 184
  buys Mo. land . . . 183, 185
  emigrates to America . . . 177–78
  rental policy . . . 176–92, 205
  rental policy attacked . . . 195–203
  sells Ill. land . . . 178–79
  sells Irish land . . . 180
  mentioned . . . 194, 204
Searcy, Earle Benjamin . . . 77, 93, 96
Seargeant, Mrs. Ella W. . . . 370
Selective Service, *see* United States: Selective Service
Sellers, Anna M. . . . 301, 308, 310
Sellers, Peter . . . 298, 301, 302, 303
Semple, James . . . 101
Sessler, Alfred . . . 507
Seward, William Henry . . . 247, 248, 278
Sharp, Ethel . . . 370
"Sharps and Flats" (newspaper column) . . . 464
Shastid, Thomas Hall . . . 257, 258
Shattuck, Elaine B. . . . 263
Shattuck, L. Hubbard . . . 263
Shattuck, Shirley Elizabeth . . . 263
Shaw, Joseph L. . . . 269
Shawneetown, Ill. . . . 88, 346, 447, 479
Sheboygan, Wis. . . . 288–89
Shelburne Falls Academy . . . 67
Sheldon, Elnora . . . 133
Sheldon, J. C. . . . 319, 327
Shepherd, Thomas A. . . . 308
Sheppard, James L. . . . 171
Sherman, Rebecca . . . 473–74
Sherrill, Laura Adelaide . . . 475
Shields, James . . . 64, 101, 102, 244
Shiloh, Ill. . . . 479
Shinn, Mrs. Margaret . . . 506
Shipton, A. W. . . . 365
Shocker, Elsie . . . 373
Shoemaker, E. E. . . . 310
Shorthorn Breeders Association of Mercer County . . . 422
Showel, John . . . 132
Shrader, William . . . 488–89
Shurtleff, Benjamin . . . 345
Shurtleff College . . . 66
Sibley, Hiram
  land operations . . . 160, 162–64
  public opinion of . . . 176, 198
  tenant policies . . . 163–64, 185, 198
  mentioned . . . 203, 204
"Sibley Farms" . . . 162
Sickles, Dan . . . 367
Sidell, John . . . 159
Silver mines . . . 45, 46, 52
Simms, Ruth Hanna McCormick . . . 98
Simpson, Dorothy . . . 370
Sinclair, Upton . . . 496
Sinnock, W. H. . . . 373
Sioux Indians . . . 57
Sisson, Mrs. Elizabeth . . . 313
Skandinaven (newspaper) . . . 368
Skinner, Mrs. John . . . 370, 502
Skinner, Mrs. Virginia Strawn . . . 265
Skogh, Harriet M. . . . 58n., 493

Sloan, Alex. C.....310
Smith, Alice E.....261
Smith, Arthur G.....268
Smith, Bessie.....313
Smith, Clarence R.....370
Smith, Edward O.....11
Smith, Elmer A.....256
Smith, G. A.....372
Smith, George W.....495, 507–08
Smith, Grace Partridge
  article by.....58–70
  mentioned.....136
Smith, H. P. S.....133
Smith, Hermon Dunlap.....494
Smith, Horace G.....132
Smith, Hyrum.....259, 260
Smith, James.....491
Smith, Mrs. James.....296
Smith, Joe Patterson.....492
Smith, John.....438
Smith, Joseph
  book on.....369
  death.....259, 260
  at Nauvoo.....481, 482, 484
Smith, Moses.....115
Smith, Peter F.....75
Smith, Pocahontas.....438
Smith, Robert.....101
Smith, Will C.....300
Smith, William Sooy.....29, 30
Snyder, Adam W.....103
Snyder, Helen.....374
Snyder, John F.
  quoted.....122–23
  mentioned.....452
Snyder, Mrs. Karl F.....507
Society in America (book).....450
Society of American Historians.....263
Society of Baptist Missionaries.....222
Society of the Army of the Tennessee.461
Sod houses
  construction.....402
  region of.....385–86, 401–12
Soderstam, Elsa.....134
Solberg, Marshall.....256
Soldiers, *see* United States: Army
Soldiers' Orphans' Home (Normal, Ill.).....435
South Dakota.....397
South Hanover College.....237
South Shore Historical Society (Chicago).....264
Southern Collegiate Institute
  alumni.....315–16
  building.....295, 307, 312–13
  building destroyed.....318
  faculty.....306, 308–14, 317
  failure.....314, 316–17
  finances.....311, 317
  incorporation.....305–07
  predecessors.....295–304
Southern Illinois Historical Society.....135, 374, 505–06
Southern Illinois National Bank (East St. Louis).....130
Southern Illinois Normal University.....76, 97, 135
Southern Railroad.....298
Spaniards.....49
Spars.....93
Sparta, Ill.....479
Spence, Agnes.....473–74
Spencer, Edward W.....498
Spencer, Hamilton.....18
Spencer, Herbert.....89, 461
Spencer, John C.....286
Spiller, George G.....306, 307
Spillertown, Ill.....374
Spillman, Benjamin F.....228
Spinka, Matthew
  letter of.....111–12
  mentioned.....110, 117, 317
Spooner, Harry L.....268, 373
Sprick, Harvey H.....373
Spriggs, Ethel.....296
Springfield, Ill.
  Civil War soldiers in (1864).....360–61
  Democratic convention in.....79
  Emerson visits.....455, 458
  Gottschalk concert in.....253
  Greenback Labor Party convention in.....430
  Independent Reform Party convention in.....426–27
  Republican conventions in.....79, 82
Springfield and Bloomington Railroad.15
Staack, Henry F.....373
Stahl, S. S.....308, 310
Stahl, Mrs. S. S.....312
Stanton, Edwin McMasters.....247, 248

Stanton, Louis L. 33
Stark County Historical Society 506
Starved Rock
  Fort St. Louis on 39
  Indian tribes at ... 43–44, 53, 54, 55, 56
  Renault visits 48
Stateville prison 94
Stearns, W. W. 325
Steel, Mrs. Lula M. 371
Steevens, George Washington 466
Stellhorn, Edna ..... 58n.
Stephenson County, Ill. 83
Stephenson County Historical Society 268, 374, 506–07
Stern, Alfred W. 363
Stevens, B. N. 370
Stevens, Jewell F. 494
Stevens, Mrs. Jewell F. 493
Stevens, John S. 434
Stevenson, A. E. 438
Stevenson, W. F. 174
Stewart, Andrew 286
Stewart, George R. 496–97
Stockbridge and Pittsfield Railroad ... 19
Stone, Clyde E. 96
Stone, Daniel 101
Stone, John C. 300, 302
Stone, William M. 247
Stonefort, Ill. 479
Stormy Years (book) 259
Strawn, Halbert J. 297, 299, 306, 307
Strawn, Jacob 159
Strawn, John H. 315
Strawn, Virginia 308
Streeter, Alson J.
  in Anti-Monopoly Party 433–34
  candidate for governor 430–32
  candidate for president 414
  in cattle business 422
  Civil War activities 423–24
  early life 415–21
  Greenback Party activities 428–32
  and Haymarket Riot 444–45
  in Illinois House 424, 427
  in Illinois Senate 435–42
  in Independent Reform Party ... 426–28
  marriage 421
  in Northern Alliance 443–44
  mentioned 508
Streeter, Eleanor Kenyon 415
Streeter, Roswell 415, 417
Strickland, George 250
Strickland, Harry 250
Strikes
  compensation ruled out 72
  Hummer Manufacturing Co. 80, 82
  Montgomery Ward & Co. 79, 81, 97, 98
  railroads 71–72, 93, 94
  truckers 88
Stuart, John T. 11, 18, 108
Stubborn Mr. Lincoln (pamphlet) 501
Study, Guy
  article by 351–53
Study, Farrar & Majers (St. Louis) .. 351
Stukenberg, Wesley W. 374
Stukenberg, Mrs. Wesley W. 374
Stumm, Mrs. Bernard J. 370
Sturges, Solomon 150, 184, 203
Stuvé, Bernard 198
Sullivan, ——— 490
Sullivan, Philip L. 98
Sullivant, Joseph 157
Sullivant, Michael
  "Broadlands" estate 158–59, 165
  "Burr Oaks" estate 159–62
  farming methods 164, 167, 178, 184
  moves to Ill. 157
  public opinion of 176
  sells "Broadlands" 159
  mentioned 149, 173, 203, 204
Summer in Norway, A (book) 475
Summer on the Lakes, A (book) 452
Sumner, Edward C. 147, 159, 166
Swan, Alonzo M.
  quoted 120–22
Swanzey, J. Howard 269, 507
Swartwout, Samuel 152
Swedish Historical Society of Rockford 506
Swedish people 159, 387
Sweet, Forest H. 262, 263
Sweney, Del. 268

Tallmadge, Nathaniel Pitcher 289–90
Tamaroa, Ill. 479
Tamaroa Indians 39
Tanner, William A. 370
Tapouara Indians 39
Tarbell, Ida M. 71
Tatum (steamer) 23

Taylor, Bayard....459
Taylor, Charles B.....327–30, 332, 336
Taylor, Frank L.... 72
Teasdale, John.... 63
Tenancy
antialien landlord legislation...199–203
beginning.....145–48, 167–70, 395–96
cash rent system...153–54, 171, 189–92
Ill. Cent. R.R. encourages.....149–50
Irish system.....177, 180
objections to.....191–203
prevalence.....162, 203–04
Scott rental scales contracts.....
.....170–73, 178
Scully's system.....176–92, 205
Scully's system attacked.....195–203
share rent system.....
.....155–56, 161, 163, 175, 189–92
Sibley's system.....163–64
Tennessee.....354–55
Terre Haute & Alton Railroad, *see* St. Louis, Alton and Terre Haute Railroad
Texas.....250, 385, 397, 404–05
Thackeray, William Makepeace.....450
Thayer County, Neb.....187
Thebes, Ill.....479
Thomas, Jesse B.....286
Thomas, William.....267
Thomason, Samuel Emory.... 75
Thompson, Asler C.....174
Thompson, Charles M.....103
Thompson, Frank.....298
Thompson, George K.....249
Thompson, Herbert J.....249
Thompson, John.... 90
Thompson, Miss Marion.....249
Thompson, William Hale.... 75
Thorn, Edwin.....134
Through Cities and Prairie Land (book)
.....462
Tietjens, Eunice.... 89
Tillson, Charles Holmes.....350
Tillson Christiana Holmes
history of Illinois.....345–50
Tillson, John
early settler in Ill.....345–50
Tillson, John, Jr.....350
Tillson, Robert.....346, 350
Tilton, Clint Clay.....135, 256
Tinley Park, Ill.....506
Tipperary County, Ireland.....176, 185
Tittle, Ernest Fremont.....498
Tobie, Willard Nathan
death.....330
influence.....331
at Parks Chapel.....321–26, 336
at Trinity Church.....327–29
mentioned.....334, 338, 339, 344
Tocqueville, Alexis de.....207
Tompkins, James.....306, 307
Tonica and Petersburg Railroad Co... 34
Tonti, Alphonse de.....42, 44
Tonti, Henri de
death.... 41
helps build Fort St. Louis....38, 39, 43
seeks trade privileges.....39–40, 41
trading post in Ill.....40, 41
mentioned.... 47
Totem pole, Lincoln.....501–02
Tour in Southern Illinois in 1822, A (book).....447
Tower, Willis E.....132
Towle, E. K.....320, 341
Towle, W. W.....492
Townley, Wayne C.....260
Townsend, Jesse.....346
Tramping to Failure (book).....258
Trappist Monks.....352
Trautwein, Mrs. Forrest.....504
Travous, Louise.....372, 504
Tree, Lambert.....437, 438
Tremont House (Chicago).....456
Triebel, Carl O.....268
Trinity Church (Urbana, Ill.)
Baker named minister.....330
dedicated.....329
established.....326–27
growth.....331, 333
relation to Wesley Foundation.....340
mentioned.....328, 334, 339
Trollope, Anthony.....460
Trovillion, Hal.....499
Troy, Ill.....479
Truck drivers' strike.... 88
Trueblood, Charles.....309
Trueman, J. N.....328
Truman, Harry S.... 87
Trumbull, Lyman.....432
Tuckerman, Bayard.....278

Tuckerman, Joseph....220, 221
Tunnell, Ella....372
Turkey Island.... 54
Turner, Asa....115
Turner, Earl O....506
Turnley, John C....355
Turnley, P. T.
quoted....354–56
Twain, Mark....461–62
Two Years' Residence in the Settlement on the English Prairie, in the Illinois Country (book)....447

Union County, Ill.... 81
Union Labor Party....199, 414
Unitarians....220
United Labor Party....414, 445
United States
Army
Air Forces.... 76
college training....74, 76
factories operated by....
....78, 79, 81, 90, 97, 98
flood duty....77–78, 79, 80, 82
Gardiner General Hospital.... 85
nurses.... 86
officers' training....73, 78
railroads operated by.... 72
Service Forces.... 88
size of....84, 94
truck lines operated by....88, 89
Vaughan General Hospital.... 94
veterans' benefits....73, 83, 84
"Wasps"....
Coast Guard....79, 91
draft boards, *see* United States: Selective Service
Farm Security Administration.... 81
Labor, Dept. of.... 75
Marine Corps....91, 94
National Labor Relations Board... 77
Navy
college training....74, 81
officers released.... 91
Secretary of....79, 80
size of....84, 86, 94
women's reserves.... 91
Office of Price Administration...75, 92
rationing....75, 80, 92
Selective Service
deferments....75, 76, 81
furloughs....72–73
monthly quotas.... 97
reclassifies men....91, 96
Spars.... 93
War Dep't....92, 97
War Food Administration.... 77
War Labor Board....78, 88, 89
War Loan drives.72, 74, 83, 85, 93, 97
War Manpower Commission.... 85
war prisoners in....91, 95
War Production Board.... 96
Works Progress Administration.... 84
University Place Christian Church (Champaign, Ill.)....325
Upper Alton, Ill.
Wayland Female Institute in....58–67
Urbana, Ill. Methodist work in, *see* Parks Chapel, Trinity Church, *and* Wesley Foundation

Valentine, John....494
Van Buren, Martin....125, 277, 451
Vance, Mrs. Philip....493
Van Cleve, J. W....332
Vandalia, Ill....448
Vandeveer estate, the....149, 154
Vaughan, Victor C.... 94
Vaughan General Hospital (Hines, Ill.).... 94
Veach, E.... 64
Vent, James F....174
Vermilion County, Ill.
Allerton land in....173–74
Ellsworth land in....146
Sullivant land in....157
tenancy in....194
mentioned....154
Vermilion River.... 55
Vicars, William.... 77
Vide-Poche (Carondelet, Mo.)....280
Villa Ridge, Ill....304
Volta, Count Alessandro....208
Voorhees, Frederick P.... 33
Voorhies, W....174
Voris, Stephen....469
Voss, William C....268

Wabash River 46
Waldmann, Mrs. C. A. 373
Walker, H. W. 506
Walker, John 234
Walker, Robert J. 152
Wallace, Henry A. 73
Wallace, Lew 92
Wallace, Patterson W. 307
Wallace, William S. 108
Walser, Emma 300
Walser, Eva 300
Walser, Gertrude 300
Wanborough, Ill. 239
Want, M. M. 324
Ward, Montgomery and Co.
  government operates .....
  ..... 78, 79, 81, 97, 98
  strike at 77
Wareham, Winifred A. 269
Warner, Mrs. Henry 266
Warren County, Ill. 430
Warren County, Ind. 166
Warsaw, Ill. 82
Washburn, Nathan W. 235
Washburne, Elihu B. 240
Washington, Alphabetical, Jr. 431
Washington, George 132, 461
Wasson, Mrs. Theron 372
Waterbury, Mrs. Neil 372
Watseka, Ill. 339
Watson, Albert 94
Watts, Mrs. Raymond 372
Watts and Bodwell 174
Wayland, Francis 68
Wayland Female Institute
  history of 58–70
Waynesville, Ill. 12
Wea Indians 39, 42
Weathering Many Storms for Seventy-Years (brochure) 130
Weaver, James B. 432
Webb, E. B. 240
Webster, C. C. 249
Webster, Daniel 277
Weik, Jesse W. 500
Weisenburger, Francis P. 261
Wergin, Otto Richard 87
Werner, Mary Swanson 264
Werntz, Carl M. 92
Wesley, John 344
Wesley Foundation (Urbana, Ill.)
  activities 337, 341, 342, 343
  Baker's efforts for 332–34
  buildings proposed 332, 340
  campaign for funds 336, 338–42
  cornerstone laid 342
  dedication 343
  earlier church activities 319–28
  incorporation 334–36
  proposal for 328
West, the, *see* Pioneers
West Frankfort, Ill. 479
West Side Historical Society (Chicago)
  ..... 131, 265, 371, 503
Westchester, Iowa 117
"Western Eden, The" (poem) 453
Western Rural (farm journal) 443
Western Souvenir (annual volume) 448
Weston, H. G. 64
Weston, W. W. 64
Wetherbee, Mrs. S. A. 493
Wetzel, L. P. 372
Wham, Charles 82
What Andrew Boyd and Charles Henry Hart Did for Abraham Lincoln (booklet) 500
Wheat, William H. 72
Wheeler, Leon 372
Wheeler, Mrs. W. A. 503
When Lincoln Came to Egypt (book) 507
White, Mrs. George W. 505
White, John Paintor 319
Whiteside, Daisy L.
  article by 245–46
Whiteside, Dorothy A. 245
Whiteside County, Ill. 135, 235
Whitman, Walt 454, 459
Whitmore, William Wallace 249
Whitney, _____ 288, 291
Whitsett, George 312
Whittaker, Hattie 264
Wick, Hiram 397
Wiggins Ferry Co. 24
Wiggle, G. E. 309
Wilber, Anna R. 370
Wilde, Oscar 462–64
Wilder, W. H. 324, 327
Wilkin, H. C. 320
Wilkin, M. P. 339
Will County, Ill. 152

Willard, Frances....128
Williams, Alice....373
Williams, D....174
Williams, George H....314
Williams, J. S....297
Williams, John....181, 182
Williams, Lucy....495
Williams, Oliver B....373
Williams and Dempsey....174
Williams and Henderson....174
Williamson, Kenney E....85, 93
Wilson, Charles Banks....366
Wilson, J. S....320
Wilson, Rufus Rockwell....498–99
Wilson, William....240
Wilson, Woodrow....414
Winchester, Ill....110, 114, 117
Winchester (steamer)....23
Windes, Mrs. Frank A....266
Winnetka Historical Society....269, 507
Winters, Joshua C....250
Wisconsin....201
Wisconsin Magazine of History....262
Wisconsin, State Historical Society of. 260
Wise, P....23
Wise, S....23
Wolf, Caroline E....133
Woman's Story of Pioneer Illinois, A 345–50
Women
on frontier....
....392–93, 399–401, 405, 408–11
Women's Air Force Service Pilots (Wasps)....91
Wood, Ernest....373
Wood, N. N....63
Woodlawn (Chicago), Historical Society of....265, 371
Woods, John....447
Woodstock, Ill....432
World War II, *see* United States
World's Columbian Exposition....82
Wright, Gilbert....493
Wright, Joel....346
Wright, John C....286
Wright, Richard....496
Wriston, Henry Merritt....263
Wyeth, Nathan....397
Wyman, Edward....68n.

Yates, Richard....361
Yeatman, James E....284
Yoakum, B. F. F....174
York State (steamboat)....23
Young, Clara Kimball....69
Young, Jesse Bowman....320
Young, Minerva....300
Young Men's Association (Chicago). 456, 457, 458
Young Men's Association (Freeport). 456
Younger, Mrs. Louise....506
Yungmeyer, D. W.
article by....7–37
mentioned....135

Zane, Ebenezer....489
Zane, Jonathan....489
Zane, Silas....489
Zeiders, Mrs. William W....269
Zetterberg, Arvid P....313, 314
Ziegler, Edward W....493

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